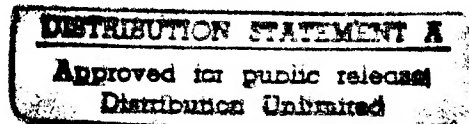


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24 May 1984



# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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24 May 1984

# CHINA REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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GENERAL

U.S. 'INTERVENTION' IN CENTRAL AMERICA CONDEMNED

OW071123 Beijing XINHUA in English 0946 GMT 7 May 84

[Text] Lisbon, 6 May (XINHUA)--A final declaration of the International Conference on Nicaragua and Peace in Central America, which ended here today, expressed support to the struggles of the Nicaraguan people for independence and territorial integrity and condemned the U.S. intervention in the internal affairs of Central American countries.

The 4-day conference, attended by some 400 delegates from more than 100 countries and organizations, deplored the recent U.S. mine laying in Nicaraguan ports. The U.S. "aggressive acts" constituted "a violation of the norms of international law," and seriously damaged the economy of Nicaragua, the final declaration said.

The declaration supported the rights of the Nicaraguan people to ask for and receive every kind of assistance so as to safeguard territorial integrity, political independence and the character of non-alignment.

The conference pointed out that although the U.S. operations have been condemned internationally, there still exist systematic and coarse violations of the political, economic, social and cultural rights in Guatemala and El Salvador.

The declaration said: "An invasion of Nicaragua by the armed forces of the United States and an increase of its actions in El Salvador constitute an imminent danger."

The document said the conference supported efforts by the Contadora group--Mexico, Colombia, Panama and Venezuela--to find a negotiated solution to the conflicts in Central America.

CSO: 4000/345

GENERAL

## MORE NUCLEAR POWER PLANTS IN THIRD WORLD

OW021925 Beijing XINHUA in English 1912 GMT 2 May 84

[Text] Vienna, 2 May (XINHUA)--Six developing countries had 13 nuclear power plants in operation at the end of last year with a total capacity of 5,100 megawatts.

They are Argentina, Brazil, India, South Korea, Pakistan and Yugoslavia, all of whom are members of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

A latest power plants with a combined capacity of about 11,000 megawatts are now under construction in these countries and in Cuba, Mexico and the Philippines.

The bulletin says that at least four other countries, namely China, Egypt, Libya and Turkey, have entered the final planning stage of nuclear power production.

By the year 2000, it says, nuclear power plants in developing countries will have a total capacity of 50 gigawatts, providing about 7 percent of their total electricity supply. The corresponding figure for industrialised countries is expected to be between 500 and 700 gigawatts, supplying about 30 percent of their total electricity.

The bulletin predicts that 10 more developing countries have the potential to start the construction of nuclear power plants before the end of this century if the prevailing constraints can be overcome.

Presenting an overall picture of the world's nuclear power production in 1983, the bulletin says 23 more nuclear power reactors were connected to electricity supply grids during the year. This brings the total number in 25 countries to 317 units with a combined capacity of 191 gigawatts. While accounting for about 8 percent of world power generating capacity, these nuclear plants actually produced about 12 percent of the total electricity in the world.

At the end of 1983, the bulletin adds, 209 more such plants with a planned capacity of 194 gigawatts were being built.

CSO: 4000/345



## GENERAL

### RENMIN RIBAO ON LABOR MOVEMENTS IN THIRD WORLD

HK031430 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 2 May 84 p 7

[Article by Wang Yuxian [3769 3768 0341]: "Development, Subsistence, Anti-hegemonism--Workers' Movement in the Third World in the Past Year?"]

[Text] In the past year, as developed countries shifted their economic difficulties to developing countries, except for some Asian countries, the economies in the Third World generally worsened. Striving for national economic development and for safeguards for workers' rights to earn a living, and opposing the superpowers' hegemonism have become main content of labor movements in the Third World.

Following the appearance of a negative growth rate in 1982 for the first time in the postwar period, the Latin American economy continued to fall, dropping by 3.5 percent last year. Likewise, the African economy also declined by about 2 percent last year. The heavy burdens brought about by the economic difficulties mainly fell onto workers and other laboring people. Serious unemployment is one of the greatest social problems facing Third World countries at present. In Latin America, the average rate of unemployment and semiunemployment in urban areas reaches 20 to 40 percent, and that in some cities even tops 50 percent. In Asia, registered jobless people number more than 24 million; and the unemployment rate in the Philippines reaches 12 percent. After losing their means of livelihood, these jobless people can only wander about destitute or eke out their living by working as hawkers. Last year, prices for consumer goods in Latin America rose by 130 percent against 86 percent in the previous year. In Argentina, prices even rose by 401 percent. Prices for many goods in the Philippines also doubled in the past year. Under these circumstances, even those workers remaining on the job also lead a hard life. For example, the minimum cost of living for a family in Guatemala 12.40 guetzal a day, while the statutory minimum daily wage is only 3.20 guetzal, and many workers even cannot earn the minimum wage. The African people are not only racked with serious unemployment, but are also threatened by serious famine and malnutrition caused by drought in recent years.

The workers and trade unions in Third World countries have come to realize that the existing unreasonable international economic and trade system is a serious obstacle to economic development in their countries. For example, the prices of major export goods of Africa declined to a 30-year low in 1982. In Latin

America, the total debt payment in a year is nearly equal to the total value of its exports. In this situation, calling for the establishment of a new international economic order has become a major banner in the Third World labor movements.

Last year, when celebrating the 10th anniversary of its founding, the organization of African Unity Trade Union reiterated its strong demand for changing the old international economic order and announced that the organization will hold an African trade union conference on the development issue in the last quarter of this year so as to further discuss the relevant issues. In March this year, some trade unions held an international forum on "African laborers and the world economic crisis" in Senegal. The meeting issued a "Dakar statement," calling for trade unions in various countries to unite to oppose the shifting of economic difficulties. Trade unions in Asia and Latin America have also made consistent efforts for the establishment of a new international economic order. They demand that their governments develop the national economy, call for changing the international division of labor and establishing fair and reasonable pricing policies for raw materials, and demand the prolonging of the payment of foreign debts. In order to ensure that the labor movement can play a role in the issue of development, they also call for strengthening "South-South cooperation" between Third World countries in the field of trade unions.

While striving for the development of their national economies, workers and trade unions in the Third World also have carried out extensive struggles to safeguard workers' vital interests and rights and the rights of trade unions. Since last year, Indian trade unions have carried out consistent struggles to demand higher wages and to oppose dismissal from work. Workers in Indonesia and the Philippines have come out on successive strikes. The main content of the African workers' struggle is to demand the development of their national economies, to safeguard workers' interests, and to demand the rights of trade unions to participate in management. In Latin America, national strikes and strikes in some trades have occurred frequently over the past year. Workers in Chile have held seven national protest day activities, and hundreds of thousands of people have taken part in each of these activities. Large-scale national strikes, which have rarely been seen in recent years, also have occurred in Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay.

The increasingly intense contention between the superpowers in the Third World has brought about disastrous results to workers and other laborers people in those countries. Trade unions in Asia and other regions have continued to condemn the Soviet Union's occupation of Afghanistan and its backing of Vietnam's occupation of Kampuchea and demand the unconditional withdrawal of the aggressor troops. Last year, at the International Trade Union Conference on opposing racial segregation and at the congress of the Palestinian Trade Union Federation, many labor organizations strongly denounced the United States' support for Israel's invasion of Lebanon and for South Africa's racist regime. Trade unions in various Latin American countries and the three major regional labor organizations denounced the United States' aggression against Grenada as "a new threat against world peace" and expressed their firm opposition to the "aggression and war threats against Central America." They also supported the Contadora group's proposals for peaceful settling the Central American issue.

CSO: 4005/568

GENERAL

## BEIJING ON RAPID ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN PACIFIC

OW040211 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1150 GMT 2 May 84

[International current events roundup]

[Excerpts] Listeners, the rapid economic development of the Asian-Pacific region in recent years has attracted a lot of world attention, particularly that of the Western countries. They believe that the economy of this region is taking off and that the world economic center is moving toward this area. This program presents a roundup report entitled "The Trend of Economic Development in the Asian-Pacific Region Catches the Attention of Western Europe."

Currently, the rapid economic development of the Asian-Pacific region has become a popular subject among the Western countries. The Western press is commenting a lot on this, and there are now books centered on this subject. Some Western leaders have also attached importance to the economic upsurge in this area.

Among the Asian countries, the economic strength of Japan and the five members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, ASEAN, and the economic potential of China have especially caught the world's attention. As a major industrial nation, Japan has created a huge market for Asian countries. The economic growth rate of ASEAN states has been far higher than that of many advanced industrialized nations.

What is noteworthy is that as a big developing country, China has changed its long-held policy of economically closing itself to the outside world and has adopted an "open-door" economic policy. It is quite possible that economic cooperation between China and Japan will become an underlying factor of economic development in this region. Some people have said that in terms of economic strength, the United States, China and Japan will be the mainstays forming the economic center of the Pacific area. If the three nations foster close economic cooperation, it would certainly speed up the formation of an economic center in this region.

Some newspapers of western Europe hold that the gradual shift of the world economic center from the Atlantic to the Asian-Pacific region is a fundamental change and that Europe is totally powerless to stop or escape from it. Europe should pay attention to the economy of the Asian-Pacific region and meet the challenge of the region as it met the U.S. challenge in the 1960's.

The United States, which is one of the world's superpowers, has paid great attention to the development trend of this area. Recently, President Reagan described the United States as a pacific nation in order to turn the region into a market for U.S. merchandise, labor and capital. Since the beginning of the 1980's, the mainstream of U.S. foreign trade has gradually shifted from western Europe to the economically fast-developing Pacific countries. Since 1980, the trade volume between the United States and the pacific nations has surpassed that between the United States and western Europe. U.S. industrialists believe that this is a historical change with profound significance.

CSO: 4005/568

GENERAL

BRIEFS

USSR'S AFGHAN INTERVENTION RAPPED--Islamabad, 1 May (XINHUA)--Visiting Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone said today that the stability and security of Pakistan are imperative for peace not only in Asia but also in the whole world. Speaking at a civic reception hosted in his honor in Lahore this afternoon, Nakasone said that the Soviet Union's military intervention in Afghanistan not only endangers the sovereignty of the people there, but also threatens the separate entity of that country. Nakasone also reiterated Japan's continuing support for Pakistan in its effort to secure a peaceful solution to the Afghan issue and Japan's continued contribution to lessen Pakistan's burden of looking after three million Afghan refugees. He expressed high appreciation of Pakistan's humanitarian aid to these refugees who fled to Pakistan following the Soviet military intervention and occupation of their homeland. Nakasone arrived here yesterday on a 4-day visit. Soon after his arrival, he had a meeting with President Ziaul Haq on matters of mutual concern. [Text] [OW020332 Beijing XINHUA in English 0246 GMT 2 May 84]

CS0: 4000/345

UNITED STATES

REPORTAGE ON DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARIES

Mondal Wins Texas Caucuses

OW061920 Beijing XINHUA in English 1840 GMT 6 May 84

[Text] Washington, 6 May (XINHUA)--Former U.S. Vice President Walter Mondale captured the Texas caucuses while black civil rights leader Jesse Jackson won the Louisiana primary last night.

For Mondale, this was another big step toward getting the presidential nomination of the Democratic Party in July's National Convention by taking majority of the 169 delegates to be chosen in Texas, the third most populous state in the United States.

Hoping to recoup in the west his losses to Mondale in the industrial states, Colorado Senator Gary Hart campaigned vigorously in Texas, the second largest state west of the Mississippi River, but he trailed Mondale far behind.

Last Tuesday, Mondale also defeated Hart in the Tennessee primary by a big margin. It is believed that Hart's losses in the two states will make it more difficult for him to stage a comeback in the party's presidential race, as time is running out for his candidacy.

Jackson's strong show in Louisiana, a small state in the south with 57 delegates, was mainly due to the support of a big black vote. On Tuesday, he won his first clear-cut primary victory in the District of Columbia, where about three quarters of the population are blacks.

The Democratic presidential race has now entered into a crucial week in which nearly half of the remaining 1479 delegates will be selected. Prior to yesterday's polls, the delegate line was 1236 for Mondal, 670 for Hart and 208 for Jackson. A total of 1967 delegates is needed to win the party's nomination.

Win Two Primaries Each

OW090951 Beijing XINHUA in English 0907 GMT 9 May 84

[Text] Washington, 8 May (XINHUA)--Former U.S. Vice President Walter Mondale and Colorado Senator Gary Hart both claimed victories tonight in four Democratic presidential primaries with each taking two of them.

With a total of 368 delegates at stake in the primaries held in Ohio, Maryland, Indiana and North Carolina, Mondale captured Maryland and North Carolina, while Hart won narrowly in Ohio and Indiana.

Jesse Jackson, left far behind, finished the third in all the four states.

Today's primaries were believed to be one of the most crucial contests for the three Democratic contenders, as the results will determine whether their nomination battle continues or begins to wind down to an inevitable victory for Mondale.

Mondale picked up estimated 200 delegates in today's primaries, pushing his delegate total to more than 1,500. He now needs only fewer than 500 delegates to reach the 1,967 mark for nomination.

In spite of some rebounds today, Hart still trails nearly two to one in delegates and is facing increasing pressure to withdraw and rally supporters for a harmonious Democratic convention, but he vowed to stay in the race all the way to the convention scheduled on July in San Francisco.

The Democratic presidential primary season is now edging toward an end with only one last round battle left on 5 June, when primaries will be held in five states including California which holds the biggest delegate bloc of 345.

CSO: 4000/344

UNITED STATES

JOURNAL ON STUDY OF, RESEARCH INTO, U.S. HISTORY

HK031003 Beijing LISHI YANJIU in Chinese No 1, 15 Feb 84 pp 185-192

[Article by Huang Shaoxiang [7806 4801 3276] of the Institute of World History of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences: "Some Humble Opinions About a New Phase of Study of American History in China"]

[Text] The glorious program for opening up China's socialist modernized construction as proposed at the 12th CPC National Congress called for the people of the entire country to construct a high degree of socialist material civilization and at the same time to construct a high degree of socialist spiritual civilization. In our construction of socialist spiritual civilization it is extremely important that we absorb outstanding cultural and historical experiences from other countries, introduce ourselves to world history and, in particular, carry out research into American history, which occupies such an important position in contemporary international affairs. China's scholars of American history must implement the principle that Comrade Mao Zedong proposed so early on, of "making the foreign serve China," and thus on the one hand, greatly develop the work of publicizing knowledge about American history, and on the other hand, carry out deep research into American history and come to understand new situations and new problems which have developed and emerged over the last 30 years in the subject of American history, so as to widen our field of vision and make selective choices about what will serve us. I would now like to put forward two humble opinions concerning the opening up of a new situation in research into American history for the benefit of readers, colleagues and experts.

#### I. Increase the Work of Popularizing Study of American History

Scientific historical research can only be achieved under the guidance of Marxism. "Our popularization is popularization under the guidance of improvement." (Footnote 1) ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong: Speech at Yanan Forum on Art and Literature," one-volume edition, p 819) Likewise the popularization among Chinese readers of American history must be carried out under the guidance of Marxism and it must develop toward the aim of improvement. Works on American history must be written in a popular form, and should be easy to understand. They should explain complex topics in simple terms and should be brief and to the point, while being rich in content and accurate in the views they express. They must correspond to the objective reality of American history and they must



work toward achieving a dialectical unity of erudition and ideology. Thus the primary task facing present Chinese teachers and researchers of American history is to improve thorough study of Marxist theory and to adopt a Marxist position, views and methods in carrying out penetrating research into the whole of American history and major topics in American history, including Sino-American relations. In addition we must, after differentiating, comparing and analyzing the arguments and different opinions of various schools of American history, decide on certain judgmental acceptances and dialectical rejections, with the aim of writing a series of small but weighty booklets designing for the popularization of American history, so that by seeing the form and development of American capitalist society and the concrete historical process from free competition to monopoly, the mass of readers may come to clearly understand the exploitive nature of the capitalist system and correctly appreciate the aggressive nature of Sino-American relations since the founding of new China, and thereby have their patriotic fervor inspired and their belief in the prosperity of China and the construction of a socialist motherland increased and strengthened.

The founding of historical materialism represents an immortal achievement by the founders of Marxism and an enormous contribution to the social sciences. Popularization of American history is one effective way of carrying out historical materialism and socialist education. The doctrine of historical materialism tells us that the America of today is the product of historical development over 200 years, from a position of weakness to a position of strength. American history begins with the country as a British colony, and after its victory in the war of independence from Britain and the founding of a republic with a bourgeois federal system, the country experienced a civil war aimed at eradicating slavery, enormous development in its capitalist economy, and a move from free competition into the stage of monopoly. As a result of its increased economic strength, the American ruling classes instigated the first imperialist war to redive colonies--the Spanish-American War. During the two World Wars, America continued to develop its economy by relying on its advantageous geographical position and abundant natural resources, without suffering any war damage or destruction. After the Second World War America relied on its worldwide military superiority and solid economic strength, which it had built up during the war, to engage in economic infiltration and exploitation in other important capitalist countries and in other, economically backward, countries and regions, using a variety of different methods to do so and thereby growing in strength itself.

After the war America jumped in one bound from being a powerful capitalist country to being the hegemonist of the capitalist world and thus implemented expansionist policies overseas. In Asia it waged the invasive war against Korea and the invasive war against Vietnam. Since the 1960's the giant strides in science and technology have provided enormous development to the American economy. After the war, economic development on the west coast and in the southern United States was particularly fast and thus these regions became the base for burgeoning and sophisticated technology, such as in the electronics, defense, aviation and aerospace industries. Because financial groups in the west and south were able to act independently of eastern financial groups, in a political sense, they set about seeking economic outlets for these new burgeoning industries and this has been reflected in foreign policy, for the American administration presently considers that the policy of detente practiced

over the last few years has been a mistake. Since Reagan has taken office, America has stepped up its offensive in the struggle between the two hegemonists and has launched military intervention in the near and Middle East and in the Caribbean region. The high degree of material civilization that exists in America today represents the brilliant achievements which the people of America have struggled hard to create for many years. The various areas of useful knowledge and experience which the American people have gained during their economic construction are worthy of our inspection and absorption. Throughout American history, defiant dissatisfaction with capital monopoly and oppression and with the ruling power has forced Americans from every strata of society to constantly organize all kinds of movements to expose and oppose the dark and evil nature of the capitalist system, such as revolutionary movements, workers' strikes, the struggle of blacks for racial equality, civil rights movements, women's movements, and so on. All progressive American figures such as Jack London, Dreiser, [De Bu Si 1795 1580 2448] Hayward, and Foster, and all progressive political forces have expressed a limitless yearning for socialism. They either lashed out at the capitalist system through literary and scholarly means or threw themselves entirely into the researching and propagation of socialism, carrying out a tireless struggle to eradicate the unfair qualities of the capitalism system and to bring about a socialist revolution, and in doing so they constructed a bright and colorful picture of American history. They also laid bare the untenable theory of American neoconservatism, representative of American historians, namely the theory of the American exception, that America is a paradise without social contradictions and conflict. The use of dialectical materialism to analyze the development of American history confirms the Marxist universal laws of capitalist development and this conforms with the reality of American history. Because in the past there has been insufficient publicity about American history, many young people in China did not understand American history and even went so far in some cases as to become entranced with the superficial images of American material life and civilization. For these reasons we must, under the guidance of Marxist ideology, develop timely popularization of American history and this is also one of the best methods for teaching about the socialist future.

## 2. The Problem of Improving the Standard of Research Into American History

China is an enormous country and as the country faces the world and the realization of modernization construction, young people, cadres, and readers in general are naturally dissatisfied with the supply of general literature on American history, and urgently require the publication of high quality works on American history. As a result, the question of improving the standard of research into American history is also thrust before us.

But how can we judge when it has improved? And how should such improvements be carried out? These are questions which must be examined and probed.

The first thing to be clarified is that in the United States, with its highly developed capitalist system, the study of American history, as one of the important components of social ideology, is of a very clear-cut class nature. Apart from a very few Marxists and progressive academics, who try to use a materialist view of history to explain American history, the vast majority of academics in the field of American history, no matter what form their actual

beliefs might take on the surface. They either consciously or unconsciously explain history from a capitalist class position and ignore or oppose the view that it is the people who create history, and they exaggerate or elevate the historical roles of certain historical characters. Thus, for example, in her work "Revolutionary Violence and the Relevance of History," published in 1971, American historian Pauline Maier barefacedly slanders the people and masses as "thugs." (Footnote 2) (Pauline Maier, "Revolutionary Violence and the Relevance of History," Journal of Interdisciplinary History, No 2, 1971. See Philip S. Forner, "Labor and the American Revolution" 1976 p 33) [preceding footnote in English] Such historians as these ignore objective facts such as social nature, class relations, and national relations and simply cover up and conceal class contradictions and conflict, one-sidedly exposing chance or the psychological factors of various historical characters as the motive force behind historical development, with the undoubted aim of perpetuating the capitalist system, and thereby serving the fundamental interests of the bourgeoisie. The idealist view of history, representative of the bourgeoisie and the interests of all exploiting classes, is fundamentally opposed to the materialist view of history, representative of the progressive Proletariat and the interests of the masses of working people. There is a fundamental difference between the essential nature of bourgeois American views of history and the study of American history in our socialist country, under the guidance of Marxism.

I believe that the basic key to improving the standard of research of our study of American history lies in trying to adopt a Marxist position and viewpoint in analyzing and researching the vast numbers of works published in the United States on the study of American history, and thereby extracting their essence and getting rid of the dross and learning to use what we extract for our own good, so that research into American history in China progresses along Marxist principles and so that we may avoid indiscriminate pursuit of the incorrect and even heretical historical views proposed by American bourgeois historians. This question is particularly pressing at this very time.

Today the research of American history inside the United States has now reached an extensive and detailed stage and the means and methods of historical research have changed in very clear ways, with the emphasis now on microscopic research and with the division of labor becoming more and more detailed and research topics more and more specialized. There are not a great number of new schools of historical research and opinions differ on very many topics and controversy is fierce. Within these various schools of historical thought there are both some fine ideas and some veritable dross. Some writers, in search of new historical ideas and in attempts to adopt new, controversial positions, try to rewrite history and thus come up with the most bizarre and crazy views. Over the last 30 years or so we have maintained a position of virtual absolute opposition to American historians, while over the last few years much more cultural exchange has taken place between the United States and China, but our research into American history and its study is still insufficient. The Proletariat is the natural inheritor of all outstanding cultural relics and the limitless vitality of Marxism lies in its discriminating inheritance and, thus, the serious task which lies on the shoulders of China's researchers into American history is the solid absorption of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, in particular the theories and explanations of Marx, Lenin, Engels, Stalin and Comrade Mao Zedong, concerning the question of America. Of

course we should not simply follow and copy these things dogmatically, we should firmly outline and grasp the historical materialist position, viewpoint, and methods and learn to use these sharp weapons well, comparing, selecting, analyzing and researching all important American works on American history. We should absorb anything new and of value which arises out of their handling of new historical facts or investigations into reality, selecting whatever sounds reasonable or whichever research results conform with the reality of American history, so that we may widen our vision of American history and enrich and add to the content of our research. We must also make appropriate evaluations of the idealist metaphysical historical views expounded in their works and make truthful criticism of views and theories which distort the history of Sino-American relations, thereby constantly improving the standard of our research into American history.

This is a long and arduous task and as far as our researchers of American history are concerned, they must studiously learn and study American historical research in order to fully understand the subject of American history, and they must gain a thorough understanding of the entire development of the various American schools or historical thought. They must carry out analysis and research into the main theories of the major schools of history, not only grasping their content but also probing their origins. After having carried out this kind of thorough and deep research and comparison, China's historical researchers will be able to understand the structure of the various American schools of history and they will be able to improve their level of knowledge of this subject and thus write high quality works and satisfy the demands of readers in China.

In order to actually describe the close relationship between improving standards of research into American history and studying the history of the study of American history in the United States, we shall briefly outline a sketch of the history of historical science in the United States and carry out a brief probe into the different standpoints of the various schools of American historical thought concerning one important historical event, well understood by our readers, the American revolution.

The emergence and development of most major schools of historical thought usually reflect a specific level of socioeconomic development and political tendencies at one specific time in history, as well as the main trend of contemporary thought. In the United States, American history became a specialized subject in the 1880's. Before this time the study of history was very much a part of literature, the so-called unity of history and literature. For example, during the first half of the 19th century, the famous American man of letters Washington Owen was also a very successful historian. From 1834 to 1874 George Bancroft published 10 volumes of "American History" which began with Columbus' discovery of the new continent and ended with the victory in the American War of Independence. In this writing he laid the foundations of the study of American history and he was thus praised as being one of the earliest American historians. In actual fact he was both a political activist and an historian. He started out from the historical viewpoint of divine purpose and from the viewpoint of historical heroism and believed that the American victory over British rule was the will of heaven. He praised the American revolution and was filled with nationalistic pride. He also believed that the American War

of Independence represented a glorious chapter in the American people's yearning for freedom and democracy and the meritorious deeds of such heroic creators as Washington and Jefferson. We should examine his theory of divine purpose and historical heroism, develop what is useful and discard what is not and confirm his theory which puts a high evaluation on the righteousness and necessity of the American War of Independence.

During the latter part of the 19th century and the early 20th century the American economy developed enormously and capitalism entered the stage of monopoly. The American ruling classes intensified their plundering of overseas colonies and thus entered the rivalry and contention among imperialist powers, while the polarization of society became clearer every day and its various contradictions became more obviously exposed. Thus the American people began the reform movement to oppose enterprise masters and trusts. In response to American Government policies and the reform movement, and representing two different political directions and two different ideologies, two important historical schools of thought were born in the study of American history in the United States, namely the imperialist school and the progressive school. The main proponents of the imperialist school were Bi Er [3024 1422], An De Lu Si [1344 1795 7627 2448], and Ji Pu Sen [0679 2528 2773]. The imperialist school specialized in researching colonial history, in response to the demands of the then ruling American classes, and within the North American colonial history of which they wrote they did their most to defend British colonial policies, which in actual fact was a way of helping the foreign aggressive and expansionist policies of the United States at that time. They were opposed to Ban Ke Luo Fu's exposure and criticism of the reactionary and colonialist policies of Britain in the United States, and they believed that under the protection of Britain a "calm and peaceful revolution" had already been taking place over a long period of time in the North American colony, laying the foundation stones for an independent social system. The 7-year Franco-English war was seen as a war to protect the British Empire and it was felt that the North American colony profited greatly from this war. Thus the incorrect policies which Britain implemented in the United States from 1763 onward and which led to the outbreak of the American War of Independence, resulting in the disintegration of the "Anglo-Saxon race," won great sympathy among the imperialist school of historians. Hence the imperialist school spared nothing in playing down the righteousness and necessity of the War of Independence, thereby providing support for America's policies of hegemonistic supremacy. But we should not reject all the works produced by the imperialist school of American history. The historical data that they used in reference to British colonial policy and the establishment of the North American colony was very exhaustive and even today it is still valuable reference work for research into the period of the American colony. In analyzing the relations between Britain and the American colony, An Du Lu Si hinted that when the North American colony became a lively organic entity, it yielded unwillingly to the domination of the British Empire for a long time. This view is not that far removed from the normally accepted view of events at that time.

Among the progressive school of historians there were Bi Er De [3024 1422 1795], Turner, Pa Ling Dun [1584 7227 7319], Carl Baker, Slasinger Sr, and others and they all examined American history from various different angles, such as economic development, social life, culture and ideology. This school of history

Held an authoritative position among American historians before the Second World War. The works produced by those who adhered to this school of historical thought boldly exposed the contradictions and conflicts between American classes and between different areas of America and they used this method of exposing contradictions to analyze the development process of American history, unveiling the odious and corrupt nature of the capitalist system on the one hand and, at the same time, providing much source material related to economic development and, once these have been put into order and reformed with the use of the Marxist viewpoint, they can be used by China. However, it should also be pointed out that the guiding ideology of the works from this school of historical thought was a synthesis of historical idealism and mechanical materialism, and many of the discussions in the books concerning analysis of capitalist production methods actually contravene the materialist conception of history. Works from this school are indeed abundant and as far as the topic of the American Revolution is concerned, the school holds that the contradiction between the colony and British economics was the basic cause of the American Revolution. This school of thought confirms the necessity, urgency and righteousness of the revolution and gives high praise to its progressive significance. Here we shall only briefly outline the contents of Carl Baker's work "The History of Political Parties in New York From 1760 to 1776," published in 1909. The writer proposed that politics in New York during the latter period of the North American colony were concentrated around the questions of whether or not there should be "regional autonomy" and "who should govern." What this actually meant was that the American Revolution had a dual significance. On the one hand it was an anti-British struggle to shake off British colonial rule and strive for national independence, and on the other hand it was an internal struggle, with the peoples of the "lower strata" of the colony striving for political democratization and conflicting with those of the upper strata. This theory is accepted by American Marxist historians and liberal historians. The works of the progressive school of American history contain some fine things but also some dross and thus Bi Er De's theory of economic determinism and Turner's theory of Geographic determinism were criticized very early on by both American and the world Marxist historians. When evaluating the works of the progressive school of American history, we must do so by seeking truth from facts.

During the 1930's and the 1940's a school of Marxist historians emerged in American historical circles and they undertook a deep study of the history of the struggles of the American people on the basis of the principles of Marxism, writing some specialized works of great value. As far as the topic of the American Revolution is concerned, Jack Hardy's "The First American Revolution," published in 1937, represents the first general work to use Marxist theory and viewpoint to explain the American Revolution. "The American People's Struggle for Freedom," by Herbert Morris (published in 1944) is a history of the American Revolution, written from a Marxist viewpoint, in an excellent style, and drawing on an abundance of historical data. "The History of the American Labor Movement," published in 1947 and written by Foner, shows, in the first volume, the great importance of the American working people in pushing forward the American Revolution. These works all confirm the role of progressive American people in promoting historical progress. The theories of American Marxist historians (also referred to as the old leftist school, as opposed to the neorightist school) concerning the American Revolution have enriched the content of classic

Marxist works on the American War of Independence and thus they should be fully affirmed. However, their evaluations of such outstanding members of the bourgeoisie as Jefferson and Samuel Adams and their assessments of the American constitution require further discussion and consideration.

By the latter half of the 1940's the Truman government was promoting expansionist policies overseas while on the domestic front curbing the basic civil rights of the people. The government publicly implemented the "Law of loyalty to the union" and often cited "lack of loyalty" as an excuse to force government employees, university teachers and professors, and those working in academic and research bodies to give up their positions. During the early 1950's America saw the era of persecution under McCarthyism during which Marxist historians and even some liberal historians were persecuted. Reflecting this reactionary step backward in American politics was the emergence in American historical circles of neoconservatism. Proponents of this school included Daniel Bu Er Si Ting [1580 1422 2448 1694], Robert Brown and Louis Ha Zi [0761 5417]. They stressed that American society and history had "identical interests," "without any conflict," being a "kingdom of harmony." The neoconservative school dominated American historical circles for more than 10 years and indeed even today it is still very influential. As far as the topic of the American Revolution is concerned, the neoconservatives were totally opposed to the progressive school. Thus, for example, Bu Er Si Ting and Ha Zi took even greater steps backward than imperialist school when they wrote off the righteousness, urgency, and necessity of the American revolution. In opposing all revolution, fearing revolution, and belittling the progress made by the American War of Independence, they believed that the American War of Independence was nothing more than the result of a "family feud," a "historical misunderstanding," and "mutual misunderstanding and short-sighted policies on the part of the politicians of both sides." Thus they called the American War of Independence "colonial opposition, not counting as a revolution." The most outspoken was Brown in his work "Did the American Revolution Really Happen?" published in 1976. (Footnote 3) (Robert E. Brown: Did the American Revolution Really Happen? See George G. Suggs, Jr edited: Perspectives on the American Revolution, 1976, Southern Illinois University Press, pp 2-35) [preceding footnote in English] In only 30 pages he resorts to semantics and uses Webster's Dictionary and a book written during the 1930's about the American Revolution by Ke Lan Bu Lin Dun [0344 5695 1580 2651 7319] to consider the problem, believing that several conditions for the American Revolution were lacking and that as a result one could not call it a revolution. Brown also carried out crazed attacks on the academic theories of members of the progressive school such as Bi Er De, Slasinger Sr, Baker and Jameson, in particular against the above-mentioned correct view, proposed by Baker, that the American Revolution had a double significance, saying instead that the abuse of historical facts by those of the progressive school, in order to arrive at their predetermined targets, indicated a falseness and degree of lying no different from that of the Water-gate affair. (Footnote 4) (Ibid, p 35) Louis Ha Zi stressed that the special nature of American history had reached legendary proportions and stubbornly insisted that there was no feudal system or social conflict in the North American continent and that since colonial times a modernized political system had been established. He stated that Puritanism was the common principle of all immigrants and that it was this which gave birth to the ideological tradition of liberalism. He stated that radicalism was a product of European class

struggle and that it had nothing to do with the United States, and that although in the United States there was a difference between the progressive and the conservative, in actual fact all Americans were conservative liberals. As far as their historical views were concerned, the neoconservatives adopted the "Puritanist spirit" to distort history and it can be traced to the same origins as the "historical view of divine purpose" proposed by the early historian Ban Ke Luo Fu Te. The neoconservatives were a challenge to the progressive school and they even opposed and countered the most valuable data put forward by the progressive school of history. However, among their works there is a great deal of useful concrete material, such as Bur Er Si Ting's "Americans--Experiences From Colonial Times," which provides a detailed investigation into the political, military, religious, scientific, publishing, linguistic, medical and literary aspects of colonial America and is thus of great value for research into American history during the colonial period.

In the 1960's the American people launched a strong antiwar movement, civil rights movements, students' movement, and women's movement. These movements involved fierce attacks on the war policies and various domestic inequalities implemented by the American authorities and together they formed the new-left political movement. In response to this there appeared in American historical circles a new-left historical school. They criticized the theory of unity of interests in American society, as proposed by the neoconservatives, and they talked and wrote of the unknown history of the American working people. As far as the American Revolution was concerned, they once again proposed the study of the active and positive role played by the lower strata of people during the war. Jessie Lai Mi Xi [5490 4717 1585] unearthed and examined new historical material and proved the great strength of American sailors in the struggle during the American War of Independence and their enormous contributions. In political terms the new-left school was progressive. Historians of the new-left school such as D. Huo De Er [7202 1795 1422] and H. Na She [4780 0087] overstressed the strength of the lower strata masses and ignored the leading role of the bourgeoisie in their assessments of the roles of the various American classes in the American Revolution, and this did not correspond to the reality of that period of history. The guiding ideology of the new-left school of historical thought was rather complex and it included Emerson's priorism and Dewey's pragmatism, Freudian Marxism, as advocated by Marcuse of the German Frankfurt school, and Sartre's existentialism, and thus in actual fact it was a synthesis of non-Marxist ideas.

As a result of the wide application of American computer technology, a new school of economic history emerged during the latter part of the 1950's, and during the 1960's this developed enormously and was called the metrologist school. It proposed that all documents and statistical data should be handled as information, so that the research of American history might be numericalized. New socialist historians such as Xi En Si Te Luo Mu [6007 1869 2448 3676 5012 1191] (sometimes referred to as a member of the new-left school) used metrical analysis to carry out microscopic research into the circulation of the social population of a certain town between 1850 and 1880, thereby proving that of the hired workers in this one town, very few people during that period were able to get out of the blue-collar class and rise into the white-collar class. This proof thus smashed the traditional fable that America was a working people's



paradise. However some new economic historians have put large amounts of material with a bourgeois bias into the computers and have carried out some inappropriate analyses and as a result have drawn some incorrect conclusions. Thus, for example, Robert Paul Thomas made use of the "nonfactual method of metrology" and first of all proposed a false hypothesis which contravened facts, namely that between 1763 and 1772, had North America already been independent and no longer a colony, and had it set up its own defenses and its own foreign relations, things would not have been nearly as favorable as when it was a British colony. On the basis of this hypothesis, he gathered information and data and performed mathematical calculations through numerical analysis. Thus he drew a conclusion which contravened the facts, stating that the North American colony was a beneficiary and not a victim. Thomas use of this non-factual deduction to refute the righteousness and necessity of the American Revolution is absurd. Numerical analysis is a progressive scientific method and when applied to historical research, the key question is that views the historian uses when carrying out research work, whether or not the material and data selected are significant, and whether or not the statistical data is accurate and complete. If used correctly then the might of advanced science and technology can come into play; if not, the opposite will occur.

The history of the United States goes back only 200 years, only a very short time in comparison to the long river of world history, and yet the country's history is extremely complex. The serious task facing China's historians today is how to accurately reflect the overall face of the country's history, how to define the universal nature of the development of American history, how to evaluate the various exceptions in America, and how to list her historical characteristics, such as the geographical environment and abundant natural resources, the concrete historical conditions, the diversity of the country's national makeup, the realistic and creative spirit of the people in their arduous undertaking, and the country's practical experiences in studying advanced overseas technology and establishing a high degree of material civilization. In the past our emphasis on the characteristics of American history was insufficient and in the future we must increase this attention so that the content of research into American history becomes more complete and richer.

In the American capitalist system, popularization and improvements in American history are very confused and chaotic. On the one hand, famous historical "sites" are reconstructed, depending on the state of history at that time, so as to popularize the teaching of American history. On the other hand, under the domination of the academic concepts and views of bourgeois liberalism, some American historians split hairs and study unnecessary and insignificant problems and carry out so-called superclass studies. We should have nothing to do with this. In China's socialist system, the principle that highbrow art and literature must be unified with popular art and literature also applies to the study of American history. Popularization helps improvement and improvement must take into account popularization. Neither can be ignored or emphasized at the expense of the other. This, then, should be the character of China's research into American history.

The work of opening up a new situation in the research of American history is long and arduous and we must pool the wisdom and efforts of everyone involved and, under the guidance of Marxism, implement the principle of letting 100

schools of thought contend and develop research and discussion into different academic viewpoints by seeking truth from facts, so as to achieve a general improvement in academic standards, and write more in-depth popular works and a certain number of academic works, so as to allow research into American history in China to develop actively along socialist lines. We hope that with the work of one generation and with the exploitation of our collective wisdom, Chinese research into American history may attain the publicly recognized high standards of the international world of Marxist historians.

CSO: 4005/570

UNITED STATES

BRIEFS

AMERICAN TOURISTS IN SICHUAN--Last night, Governor Yang Xizong of Sichuan Province met and feted at the Jinjiang Hotel a tourist group headed by Ralph Munro, secretary of state of Washington of the United States. Governor Yang Xizong expressed his warm welcome to Munro and his party on their visit to Chengdu. He recalled the warm welcome and reception accorded to the Sichuan friendship delegation by Washington last year. He said: With the mutual visits by leaders of China and the United States, the friendship between the two countries and between Sichuan Province and Washington state will develop in depth. Mr Munro expressed his good impression on his activities and the surroundings in Chengdu. He presented some tree seeds to the provincial authorities, and wished that the friendship between Sichuan and Washington state would continue to develop and consolidate. [Summary] [HK081408 Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 2 May 84]

CSO: 4005/570

NORTHEAST ASIA

NAKASONE SUPPORTS PAKISTAN ON AFGHAN ISSUE

OW030428 Beijing XINHUA in English 0156 GMT 3 May 84

[Text] Islamabad, 2 May (XINHUA)--Visiting Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone said today Japan fully supports Pakistan's principled stand on the Afghan issue and will continue her diplomatic efforts for its settlement.

Addressing a press conference in Rawalpindi, Nakasone said Japan is on full agreement with Pakistan's four-point stand on the Afghan problem--the Soviet troops should be withdrawn, the non-aligned and Islamic status of Afghanistan be restored, conditions be created for the return of Afghan refugees to their homeland with dignity and honor, and the Afghan people be given the right to determine their form of government.

The "regrettable situation" in Afghanistan, he said, was caused by the Soviet armed incursion into that country. The entire world regards it as an encroachment on a non-aligned and sovereign nation and Japan shares this view.

Referring to the Afghan refugee problem, Nakasone said Japan will continue to provide them with assistance until their safe and honorable return to their homeland.

On the Iran-Iraq war, he said both Pakistan and Japan are continuing their efforts to put an end to this conflict.

Nakasone also answered questions about India-Pakistan relations, north-south dialogue and other international issues.

Nakasone will leave Pakistan for India tomorrow.

CSO: 4000/347

## SOUTHEAST ASIA/PACIFIC

### RENMIN RIBAO REVIEWS THAI PRIME MINISTER'S TOUR

HK020616 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 28 Apr 84 p 6

["Roundup" by Wei Yuqin [7614 3768 3830]: "Prime Minister Prem's Tour of Europe and America"]

[Text] From 8 to 27 April, the Thai Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanon successively visited the United States, Canada, Denmark, Yugoslavia, Switzerland and the FRG, to hold talks with leaders of those countries on the international situation, recent developments in the Southeast Asian region, and the Kampuchean issue in particular. They also discussed further expansion of bilateral relations between Thailand and the six nations. Premier Prem believed that his visit was "constructive and fruitful."

When Premier Prem was visiting the six nations in Europe and American, Vietnam was invading the border of Thailand. The situation on the Thai-Kampuchean border naturally became a topic of the talks. Leaders of various countries condemned Vietnam, and demanded that Vietnam stop its attack immediately. They also attached importance to the role played by Thailand in maintaining peace and stability in Southeast Asia, and the ASEAN proposal on establishing a peace zone in Southeast Asia. Through this visit, Thailand was fully supported by the six nations politically and morally.

With regard to the Kampuchean issue, the six nations appreciated the stand taken by Thailand and other ASEAN members. Yugoslavia and Thailand stressed in their joint communique that all foreign troops should be withdrawn from Kampuchea and that the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of Kampuchea should be respected. They emphasized that the right of the Kampuchean people to decide their own fate in accordance with the UN resolutions and the principle of the nonaligned movement should also be respected. The two countries reiterated their support for the Democratic Kampuchean coalition government with Sihanouk as its president. The FRG stated that it would continue to join the programs assisting refugees.

The six nations of Europe and American have reacted actively on the efforts of Thailand to expand its exports, increase foreign investment, and develop economic cooperation and trade ties. In Canada, Premier Prem personally took part in a signing ceremony of three economic agreements. Thailand and Canada have agreed to end the double taxation system originally followed by enterprises

run in each other's country. This has created conditions for further expanding investment and promoting commercial activities. Canada has provided Thailand with \$8 million in aid for economic research and developing rural work. The two countries have also signed a contract totalling \$25 million on geological prospecting. Over the past 9 years, the sale of Canadian products in Thailand has increased more than 10 times. Canadian leaders believe that in the future, "Thailand will become a very important and increasingly bigger customer of Canadian products." Trade volume between Yugoslavia and Thailand has hovered between \$3 million and \$10 million. Leaders of the two countries have explored the possibility of expanding their economic cooperation. In 1982, the FRG provided Thailand with financial aid in the sum of \$20.02 million. It also provided Thailand with technical aid in the sum of \$7 million. The two countries have expressed their willingness to strengthen their economic cooperation.

With regard to security, because Thailand is facing a military threat from Vietnam, Premier Prem has asked the United States to provide his country with military aid. He has also asked the United States to sell sophisticated weapons, communications equipment, and military vehicles to Thailand in order to strengthen its defense. The United States has said that it will "fully support" the modernization of the national defense of Thailand. It has agreed to sell Thailand a number of M-48 tanks. The U.S. Government has asked Congress to approve military aid for Thailand in the sum of \$110 million for the 1985 fiscal year, and to extend the payment period of security aid provided for Thailand. Leaders of the two countries have agreed to continue their high-level consultations on defense. In addition, the United States and Thailand have officially signed an agreement on scientific and technical cooperation.

CSO: 4005/569

SOUTHEAST ASIA/PACIFIC

KHIEU SAMPHAN ON GOOD COMBAT RESULTS AGAINST SRV

OW051933 Beijing XINHUA in English 1912 GMT 5 May 84

[Text] Phnom Melai, Kampuchea, 5 May (XINHUA)--Vice President Khieu Samphan of Democratic Kampuchea told a group of XINHUA reporters today that repeated attacks by the resistance forces on six Vietnamese-held Kampuchean provincial capitals since January have yielded good outcome both at home and abroad.

Khieu Samphan just returned here this afternoon from a visit to Niger and after attending the 40th session of the UN Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific in Tokyo.

The attacks are an encouragement to the countries and people supporting Democratic Kampuchea in its fight against Vietnam and indicate that only by supporting the Democratic Kampuchean coalition government can the Kampuchean issue be solved, he stressed.

It is the first time in 5 years that the Kampuchean resistance have fought into the Vietnamese-occupied Kampuchean provincial capitals and county seats, he said.

Besides the international significance, he said, the attacks are important in view of the following facts:

--the six provincial capitals are important hubs of communications, four of which are around the Tonle Sap Lake;

--attacks on those places of strategic importance have greatly shocked the Heng Samrin troops, from which many have deserted;

--instead of mainly killing the troops of the Vietnamese and Heng Samrin armies, the recent attacks there were mainly to destroy ammunition depots, oil tanks and other military supplies.

Moreover, the Tonle Sap Lake area is the breadbasket of Kampuchea and the recent attacks have given the guerrillas more access to grain, the Democratic Kampuchean vice-president said.

All in all, the recent victories are of military, political and economic importance and have increased the prestige internationally of the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea, he concluded.

SOUTHEAST ASIA/PACIFIC

VIETNAMESE BOMBARD THAI MARINE POSITIONS

OW050910 Beijing XINHUA in English 0817 GMT 5 May 84

[Text] Bangkok, 5 May (XINHUA)--Vietnamese gunners yesterday bombarded Thai Marine positions in Khlong Yai District of Trat Province, triggering off an hour-long artillery duel, according to today's BANGKOK POST.

The newspaper quoted a Thai Navy spokesman as saying that Vietnamese troops, attacking from their positions on the Banthad mountain range, fired at least 15 shells at a special marine task force unit at Ban Khaowong in Khlong Yai District. At least eight shells fell on a Thai Marine outpost in Ban Klong Wad in the same district.

Thai Marine force retaliated against the Vietnamese attacks. At the height of Vietnamese shelling, a Thai patrol boat was called in to pound the Vietnamese positions.

According to today's BANGKOK POST and NATION REVIEW, the Thai Royal Army yesterday received from the United States a consignment of artillery, anti-aircraft guns and armored personnel carriers. The shipment, which was unloaded at Klong Toey Harbour in the vicinity of Bangkok, includes 16 155mm Howitzers, 16 Vulcan air defence anti-aircraft guns and 30 sets of communication equipment. Another consignment of 40m-40 tanks will be delivered in early June.

Meanwhile, a high-level U.S. Air Force team will soon arrive here to brief Thai Air Force officials on F-16A and F-20 sophisticated jet fighters.

CSO: 4000/348



SOUTHEAST ASIA/PACIFIC

HIGH-RANKING OFFICIAL DEFECTS FROM PHNOM PENH

OW061631 Beijing XINHUA in English 1435 GMT 6 May 84

[Text] Bangkok, 6 May (XINHUA)--"The Vietnamese who have entered my country did not come to help the Kampuchians" but to swallow up Kampuchea, a high-ranking defector from the Phnom Penh regime said here today.

Mun Sek Yen, the highest ranking official of the Vietnam-installed regime to defect to Thailand, said Vietnam is tightening its grip on Kampuchea with a colonization program which has seen about half a million Vietnamese settled in Kampuchea since the Vietnamese occupation began.

"The reason I decided to leave Phnom Penh is that I was indignant with the tight Vietnamese control over Kampuchea."

Yen was a former director of the Phnom Penh regime's political policy committee and deputy chief of the central school of political training before he fled to Thailand on 7 April.

He said that most of the ministers in the Phnom Penh regime were married to Vietnamese women who met regularly to report on their husbands.

Kampuchians were chafing under Vietnam's occupation and increasingly supporting the resistance forces, Yen said.

He was exposed to a press conference here today along with three Phnom Penh army defectors and one Vietnamese soldier captured during a series of incursions into Thai territory last month.

Vietnamese Army Lieutenant Nguyen Din Sa said he was captured on 19 April while on a spy mission inside the Thai Eastern Province of Surin.

He confessed that the morale of the Vietnamese soldiers is low because the food supply is not dependable and because of bad living conditions.

CSO: 4000/348

SOUTHEAST ASIA/PACIFIC

HOANG VAN HOAN INTERVIEWED ON DIEN BIEN PHU

OW071331 Beijing in Vietnamese to Vietnam 1400 GMT 6 May 84

[Text] On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Vietnamese people's victory at Dien Bien Phu, our station correspondent interviewed Comrade Hoang Van Hoan in Beijing. He answered our correspondent's questions. You will now hear a recording of this interview.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] Good day, Comrade Hoang Van Hoan. We are Beijing Radio's correspondents. We have the honor to interview you.

[Hoan] Thank you very much for being concerned with the Vietnamese situation.

[Correspondent] You are well, we trust.

[Hoan] Thank you, I am very, very well.

[Correspondent] Seeing you rosy and healthy, we are very glad for you. Seven May this year is the 30th anniversary of the Vietnamese people's victory at Dien Bien Phu. We Chinese people were able to share the Vietnamese people's jubilation and enthusiasm at this historic victory 30 years ago. Today, please tell our listeners about the main features of the Dien Bien Phu campaign.

[Hoan] Let me talk briefly about the situation in the Dien Bien Phu campaign. Thirty years ago, when the Vietnamese people's anti-French war entered the 8th year and when we had seized the initiative in action on the northern battlefield while the French aggressor troops were encountering increasing difficulties and finding themselves in a passive position, the French, assisted by U.S. imperialism, drew up a military plan called the Navarre plan whose aim was to annihilate most of the Vietnamese main force and occupy our whole country within 18 months.

In the summer and fall of 1953, the American General O'Daniel and the French General Navarre successively launched many mopping-up operations all over the right bank of the Red River, attacking the Lang Son railway station, Nho Quan, dropping thousands of bandits into the northwestern region, and, in November 1953, dropping paratroopers into Dien Bien Phu to turn this area into the center of the Navarre plan campaign. They successively concentrated 16,500 seasoned troops there, built 49 strongpoints on an 18 by 6-8 km area, defended by modern weapons, aircraft and adequate artillery and motorized equipment.

On our side, in early 1954, the CPC Central Committee suggested to the Vietnam Workers Party Central Committee and President Ho that since the French troops were in a passive position, we should formulate a plan to try to liberate the whole of Bac Bo [Tonkin] so that Vietnam would have a vast and complete base area. This would facilitate our economic construction and enable us to have an important position in the international arena. This suggestion was greatly welcomed by the Vietnamese party Central Committee and President Ho, who decided to launch the Dien Bien Phu campaign.

To carry out this campaign and prior to its execution, Comrade (Yu Guoqing), head of the Chinese military advisory team, discussed a battle plan with the Vietnamese army general headquarters, which was approved by the party Central Committee and President Ho. It called for the launching of many attacks on all fronts, forcing the enemy to scatter his mobile forces to cope with us, and for not actually attacking Dien Bien Phu before 13 March 1954. With the weapons seized in the border, Ninh Binh, northwest and northern Laos campaigns, with the big artillery pieces, antiaircraft guns, machineguns and rifles brought in from China, and with the cooperation of the people, particularly the local people, the Vietnamese armed forces braved difficulties, hardships, and sacrifices, fought for 55 days and nights, and gradually smashed all strongpoints. On 7 May 1954, French General de Castries and the entire French expeditionary troops there surrendered.

This was a great victory of the Vietnamese people and at the same time a victory of internationalism and the great assistance of the Chinese people under Chairman Mao Zedong's leadership.

[Correspondent] As you have just said, the victory at Dien Bien Phu was a great victory of the Vietnamese people. This victory created a good basis for leading the Vietnamese people's anti-French resistance to complete victory. Please tell us about the significance of the Dien Bien Phu victory.

[Hoan] The Dien Bien Phu victory was the greatest victory of the Vietnamese people in their history of anti-French resistance of nearly 100 years. It shattered the French and U.S. imperialists' plot of expanding and prolonging the war in Indochina. It completely changed the balance of forces between us and the enemy, and led France to sign the 1954 Geneva agreements which recognized the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam and its two neighbors, Laos and Kampuchea. The Dien Bien Phu victory pointed to the Vietnamese people's indomitable spirit and at the same time constituted a very great encouragement to oppressed nations struggling against the imperialists' domination to wrest back freedom and independence for their lands.

The Dien Bien Phu victory was due naturally to the correct policy of President Ho and the party Central Committee and the valiant fighting spirit of the Vietnamese armed forces and people, but it is inseparable from the great material aid given by China and the direct assistance rendered by the Chinese advisory team. It must be pointed out that in the Dien Bien Phu campaign, were it not for the cannons brought in from China, we could not have succeeded in smashing the French troops' strongpoints. And, were it not for Comrade (Yu Guoqing's) direct participation in the command at the front, this campaign could not have ended in complete victory.

In the past, during the years of arduous struggle, the peoples of Vietnam and China supported and assisted one another. Vietnamese revolutionaries closely allied themselves with Chinese revolutionaries. After China's liberation, Chairman Mao sent cadres to help us not only in organizing the campaign, supplying us with food, military means, communications equipment, and so forth, but also in introducing to us Mao Zedong thought, the Chinese political regime, activities, army organization and training, cadre training and the streamlining of logistical and information systems, all valuable experiences of the Chinese people. They were the basis for the subsequent growth of the Vietnam People's Army.

The ungrateful Le Duan clique has denied and sullied these fine chapters of history. However, the Vietnamese people and armed forces will forever remember them. Vietnamese newspapers and books at that time also clearly recorded them. Although the Le Duan clique may lie, it cannot deceive the people and much less can it burn all the books and newspapers of that time.

On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Dien Bien Phu victory, on behalf of the Vietnamese people, I wish to express my gratitude to Chairman Mao, the CPC and the Chinese people. At the same time I ask your radio to clearly tell the people of Vietnam and the rest of the world what I have just said above.

[Correspondent] We Chinese people consider the Vietnamese people's victory in the Dien Bien Phu campaign as their own victory. The Dien Bien Phu victory was a concrete proof of the mutual assistance and the fighting side by side of the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples in the long revolutionary struggle of the two countries, as you have just said. Do you have anything further to say to the Vietnamese people?

[Hoan] Yes. I would like to ask your radio to tell the Vietnamese people that Vietnam and China are two neighbors having thousands of kilometers of common land and sea borders. Instead of working for peaceful coexistence between the two countries, Le Duan, acting as a foreign lackey, has sought every way to oppose China. His clique has chased more than 200,000 Hoa people out of Vietnam and stolen all of their property. It has carried out provocations and shellings, causing losses to the people at the Chinese border in terms of lives and property. It has let a foreign country use Vietnam as a military base to threaten the security of China and other countries and so forth. This is a foolish policy that will result in disaster for our fatherland. The Vietnamese people must resolutely use all forms of struggle to overthrow the Le Duan clique's brutal and rotten domination so as to restore and develop the friendship between the Vietnamese and Chinese peoples.

[Correspondent] We thank you very much for having devoted time today to answering our questions. We wish you good health and longevity. Thank you.  
[End recording]

CSO: 4209/278

## SOUTHEAST ASIA/PACIFIC

### GOVERNOR ADDRESSES AUSTRALIAN EXHIBIT OPENING

OW031025 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 2 May 84

[Text] According to a report by XINHUA RIBAO reporter (Sun Yuan) and station reporter (Yang Maosheng), the Australian scientific instruments exhibition opened at the Provincial Fine Arts Hall on Changjiang Road, in Nanjing, this morning. To celebrate the opening of the exhibition, Australian Prime Minister Hawke and Victorial State Governor (Caine) sent respectively a congratulatory letter and a congratulatory cable to the exhibition.

Attending the opening ceremony were Gu Xiulian, provincial governor of Jiangsu; Jin Xun and Yang Yongyi, provincial vice governors; (Xu Yingrui), vice mayor of Nanjing City; and (Wu Xijin), (Zeng Yangyi), (Tian Zhendong), (Fang Fei), (Zhou Zhiyu) and (Jiang Li), responsible persons of departments concerned. Australian personnel present at the opening ceremony included Dennis Argall, Australian ambassador to China; (Coogan), head of the Australian scientific instruments exhibition group; (Sheppard), manager of the exhibition group; (Scott), Australian vice consul general in Shanghai; and (Walsh), noted scientist and innovator of atomic absorption spectrum analysis. Also present at the opening ceremony were more than 500 Chinese and Australian exhibition workers and representatives from all circles in Jiangsu and Nanjing.

The opening ceremony was presided over by (Wu Xiujun), chairman of the provincial scientific and technological commission. First, Governor Gu Xiulian delivered a congratulatory speech. She said: The Australian scientific instruments exhibition is a large-scale exhibition activity in our province. Each exhibit on display is like a resplendent blossom of science and technology which adds new splendor to the friendship between Jiangsu and Victoria and between China and Australia. This exhibition and technological exchange will certainly further strengthen the friendly relations between Jiangsu and Victoria and promote the economic and trade contacts and the development of scientific, technological and cultural exchange between the two sides.

Ambassador Argall said: I am very happy to attend the opening ceremony of the exhibition in Nanjing on my first official visit since I assumed the ambassador's post. This exhibition shows the Australian people's friendly feelings toward the Chinese people. Over the past 2 days I have witnessed the progress and developments in all fields in your esteemed province by touring Nanjing. I will strive to further develop the economic and technological cooperation between Australia and China.

(Coogan), head of the exhibition group, also spoke at the opening ceremony. Then, amid the crackling and spluttering of firecrackers, Governor Gu Xiulian and Ambassador Argall cut the ribbon for the exhibition. Later, the host and guests visited the 23 displays together.

CSO: 4005/569

BRIEFS

BURMESE MINISTER ON NEPAL VISIT--Katmandu, 8 May (XINHUA)--Burmese Foreign Minister U Chit Hlaing described his 6-day visit to Nepal as "very successful," THE RISING NEPAL reported today. The foreign minister said, "there is no problem at all between the two countries." The visit, he added, would contribute to the improvement of the already good relations. Asked whether there is any plan of Burma to rejoin the non-aligned movement, he said no. Nepalese King Birendra received the Burmese minister during his visit, who also had talks with his Nepalese counterpart Padma Bahadur Khatri on bilateral relations, Afghanistan and Kampuchea as well as other regional and international matters. Chit Hlaing's visit here ended yesterday. [Text] [OW090935 Beijing XINHUA in English 0848 GMT 9 May 84]

HENG SAMRIN REGIME--Bangkok, 8 May (XINHUA)--Supreme commander of the Thai Armed Forces General Athit Kamlang-ek stressed yesterday that Thailand can only recognize the tripartite coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea but definitely not the Vietnamese-installed Heng Samrin authorities. Speaking at a meeting of the Teachers' Association, he said Vietnam attempts to occupy not only Kampuchea but also the whole Indochina. Thailand, he said, must strengthen its defense, otherwise Vietnamese troops will thrust into Thailand in the same way as they intruded into Laos and Kampuchea. The general noted that Thailand only recognizes the coalition government because it is the true representative of the Kampuchean people. Heng Samrin cannot represent the Kampuchean people, he added. Recognition of the Heng Samrin regime means endorsement of the Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea, since Vietnamese troops are stationed everywhere in that country, he said. [Text] [OW080836 Beijing XINHUA in English 0828 GMT 8 May 84]

ASEAN STAND ON KAMPUCHEA UNCHANGED--Bangkok, 7 May (XINHUA)--The position of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) on the Kampuchean issue remains unchanged, Thai Foreign Minister Sitthi Sawetsila Savetsila said here today. Speaking at the airport before leaving for Indonesia to attend a special meeting of the ASEAN foreign ministers, Sitthi said that the ASEAN still maintains that Vietnam must withdraw its troops from Kampuchea and a political solution should be found out to the issue. But there is not any change in Vietnam's position on the issue, he said. He said that the ASEAN meeting on Tuesday will discuss economic cooperation between the ASEAN and the European economic community (EEC), economic cooperation among ASEAN countries and the regional situation as well. Describing U.S. President Ronald Reagan's recent visit to China as successful, Sitthi said that the consolidation of Sino-U.S. relations is beneficial to the security and stability of Thailand and the rest of the Asian region. [Text] [OW071013 Beijing XINHUA in English 0900 GMT 7 May 84]

ANZUS AIR DEFENSE GAMES--Canberra, 7 May (XINHUA)--Australia, New Zealand and the United States today began a major military exercise in Darwin, northern territory of Australia. The exercise, code-named 'the pitch black military exercise,' was designed to test Australia's defense against a possible attack. It was said to be one of the largest-ever exercises of Australia's northern sector defenses. It was planned that 12 Australian mirages based at Darwin and Skyhawks from New Zealand were to provide the air defense in the exercise against attacks by U.S. B-52 bombers and phantoms, and Australian F-111 bombers. More than 3,100 Australian, American and New Zealand troops, and two Australian Navy ships and one U.S. warship would also take part. The exercise will also test Australian tactical defense doctrine, communications, command and control procedures, air defense radar and interception. The Anzus Defense Treaty links Australia with the United States and New Zealand. [Text] [OW071125 Beijing XINHUA in English 1040 GMT 7 Mar 84]

BATTAMBANG CITY, SISOPHON ATTACKED--Beijing, 6 May (XINHUA)--The National Army of Democratic Kampuchea recently launched another attack on Battambang city of Battambang Province, the fourth on the provincial capital in the last 2 months, according to Radio Democratic Kampuchea. The radio said that on the night of 30 April, a special task unit assaulted the Vietnamese troops stationed in Battambang city. During the 15-minute battle, a group of Vietnamese troops were killed, and eight fortifications were destroyed. The national armed forces also seized some ammunition and military supplies. On the same day, another special task unit raided the town of Sisophon in the Sisophon District, about 65 kilometers west of Battambang city. The battle lasted 15 minutes. Some Vietnamese troops were killed and 15 trucks were destroyed. [Text] [OW060434 Beijing XINHUA in English 0245 GMT 6 May 84]

DONATIONS TO KAMPUCHEAN REFUGEES--United Nations, 3 May (XINHUA)--Six countries have pledged donations to the United Nations border relief operations (UNBRO) to assist Kampuchean refugees in Thailand. At a meeting held here yesterday by donors to the program of humanitarian assistance to the Kampuchean people, the six donor countries were announced as follows: Japan with \$800,000 U.S.; the United States \$2 million; Sweden 600,000 kronor (about \$75,000 U.S.); Malaysia, \$34,000 U.S.; Indonesia \$10,000 U.S.; and Denmark 2.2 million Danish kroner (about \$220,000 U.S.). Representatives from these donor countries took the floor one after another and condemned the recent Vietnamese attacks against villages and refugee camps along the Thai-Kampuchean border. [Text] [OW040903 Beijing XINHUA in English 0650 GMT 4 May 84]

THAILAND CONDEMNS SRV SHELLING--United Nations, 3 May (XINHUA)--Thailand has condemned the latest act of violation of its sovereignty and territorial integrity by the Vietnamese occupying forces in Kampuchea. A letter from Thailand, addressed to the United Nations secretary-general and circulated here today, points out that on 30 April, Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea fired approximately 20 artillery shells into Thai territory at the village of Ban Charat, Bua Chet sub-district, Surin Province, about 10 kilometres from the Thai-Kampuchean border. The shells, the letter goes on, landed in the vicinity of the Ban Charat village hall, where a meeting of almost all villagers was being held, killing one villager and injuring 50 more, four of them seriously. The incident also resulted in severe damage to the village hall, eight villagers' houses, one police pick-up van, two automobiles and one rice barn, the letter adds. [Text] [OW032011 Beijing XINHUA in English 1950 GMT 3 May 84]



SRV STILL INFLEXIBLE--Bangkok, 3 May (XINHUA)--Viet Nam has demonstrated no flexibility on the Kampuchea issue and still clings to its strategy of using fighting and talks alternately, said a senior Thai Foreign Ministry official last night. Speaking at the foreign correspondents club for Thailand on the latest situation in Kampuchea, Sarasin Viraphon, an expert in Chinese and Indochinese affairs, noted that there isn't yet a breakthrough on the Kampuchea issue, and the so-called new elements in solution of the issue haven't materialized. On the current Vietnamese dry-season offensive, Sarasin told the audience that Vietnamese troops apparently failed to take Ampil village, headquarters of the Khmer people's national liberation front led by Mr Son Sann "not because Vietnam didn't want to take it but because the resistance forces had grown in strength." He accused the Vietnamese Embassy in Bangkok for issuing a press release attacking Thailand. "We may be forced to issue a warning to the Vietnamese Embassy about such a bad manner," he said. Although Viet Nam has tried to isolate Thailand diplomatically, he declared, Thailand has proved that it can stand on its own feet.

CSO: 4000/348

NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA

EGYPTIAN DEPUTY PREMIER ON USSR RELATIONS, PLO

OW290546 Beijing XINHUA in English 1405 GMT 28 Apr 84

[Text] Cairo, April 28 (XINHUA)--Egyptian Deputy Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs Kamal Hasan 'Ali said today that any international meeting on the Middle East conflict at this stage would be fruitless.

In an interview with the Egyptian weekly AKHBAR AL-YAWM, 'Ali called for preparing the ground on the basis of the Arab Fes plan, or the Reagan plan, or a peace framework agreement before any international meeting.

On the Soviet role in the Middle East, the foreign minister said that the current peace plans which are opposed by the Soviet Union do not make it a partner in the current stage though Soviet participation in the settlement of the Middle East conflict would be important in the next stage. He added that the atmosphere is not prepared to allow Soviet participation now.

He noted that the PLO has not taken its final decision and there has been no conclusion in the Jordanian-Palestinian dialogue. "Syria is preoccupied with Lebanon while Israel neither has changed its settlement policy nor has stopped its practices in the occupied territories, a matter which foments a negative stand on the part of Arab states."

Asked about reports that Egypt bargained with the Soviet Union on the restoration of relations in return for Soviet abandonment of its veto against Egypt's plan on the Iraq-Iran war, 'Ali described these reports as baseless rumors. He said that the escalation in the war threatens the Gulf states with foreign intervention, and only the non-aligned group is qualified for mediating an end to the fighting now.

But he said that Egypt's distinctive relations with the United States do not preclude the establishment of full relations with the Soviet Union.

Egypt, he said, is not ready to resume the talks with Israel on the Palestinian autonomy. He demanded good interpretation of the Camp David agreements with regard to the talks. "We are not prepared to deal with the old interpretation and conceptions."

CSO: 4000/352

NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA

PALESTINIANS REJECT 'ARAFAT CALL FOR CONFERENCE

OW301050 Beijing XINHUA in English 0807 GMT 30 Apr 84

[Text] Beijing, April 30 (XINHUA)--The joint political leadership of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP) issued a statement in Damascus yesterday, dismissing a call for a popular Palestinian conference or early convening of the Palestine National Council (PNC), according to a Damascus report.

The statement came in quick reaction to the call made in Kuwait by PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat on April 28 for convening the PNC session as soon as possible.

The statement said that the PNC session should follow political and organizational agreement between the Palestinian groups, otherwise, the efforts aimed at restoring the unity of the Palestine Liberation Organization will be undermined.

The statement underlined that all Palestinian groups should abide by the decision of the Algiers meeting last week, in which representatives of PFLP, DFLP, Fatah, the Palestine Liberation Front and the Palestinian Communist Party participated.

The five groups reached consensus at the meeting that the PNC session should not be held before the Palestinian groups reach agreement politically and organizationally.

CSO: 4000/352

NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA

XINHUA CITES JANA, ANSA ON ATTACK IN TRIPOLI

OW091300 Beijing XINHUA in English 1125 GMT 9 May 84

[Text] Beijing, May 9 (XINHUA)--Libyan government forces yesterday crushed a group of saboteurs who had infiltrated into the country and occupied a residential building in Tripoli, the Libyan news agency JANA reported.

A JANA dispatch reaching here said that a group of terrorists slipped into a residential building in Tripoli and, upon being discovered, seized women and children as hostages and tried to negotiate a passage to freedom. The attackers' action, the report said, "obliged" the Libyan security forces to storm the building, and all the attackers were killed when they refused to surrender.

"The Libyan forces found lists with the names of the rest of the conspirators, the majority of whom were arrested," the JANA said.

According to earlier reports of the Italian news agency ANSA from Tripoli, a group of commandos yesterday attacked with automatic weapons and rockets the barracks where Libyan leader Mu'ammarr Qadhdhafi lives. A fierce battle between the Libyan security forces and the attackers ensued, causing huge traffic jams in the capital. But the Libyan news agency denied the reported attack.

The Libyan news agency said that Mu'ammarr Qadhdhafi had attended a meeting of the military revolutionary committee yesterday evening after watching a horse race earlier in the day.

CSO: 4000/352

NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA

REPORTAGE ON CONTINUING CONFLICT IN AFGHANISTAN

Afghan Guerrillas Continue Resistance

OW020909 Beijing XINHUA in English 0640 GMT 2 May 84

[Text] Washington, May 1 (XINHUA)--Offensive the resistance by Afghan guerrillas has not been broken, nor has it been defeated, by the recent Soviet major offensive, said U.S. State Department spokesman Alan Romberg today. [graf as received]

The Soviet offensive in the Panjsher valley continues and has caused a heavy toll among the guerrillas. A large Soviet column has advanced about half way of the valley. But bad weather has hampered Soviet air operations, he added.

"The Soviets have suffered at least low levels of casualties and some helicopter and aircraft losses," Romberg added.

He told reporters early reports by Radio Kabul that the entire valley has been secured were not accurate nor were the regime-spread rumors that Panjsher leader Ahmad Shah Massod had been killed or captured.

The major resistance groups have called for cooperation with Ahmad Shah Massod under present circumstances, the spokesman said.

Reports said the Soviet forces are systematically destroying villages, livestock and crops in Afghanistan. In other parts of Afghanistan the level of fighting is also high.

The spokesman said resistance activity in and around Kabul during the last week of April increased over the recent high levels. From the regime's point of view the security situation in Qandahar remains virtually out of control.

Mujahidin Attack Soviets Widely

OW061555 Beijing XINHUA in English 1446 GMT 6 May 84

[Text] Islamabad, May 6 (XINHUA)--The Afghan Mujahidin were active in their anti-Soviet operations in many parts of the country, supporting the

counterattacks by their front-line companions against the major Soviet offensive in the Panjsher valley.

The Agency Afghan Press reported today that the Moslem fighters had recently killed 40 Soviet-Karmal troops and injured 20 others in two operations which broke out respectively in Aqcha sub-division, 40 kilometers north of the Jowzjan provincial capital Sheberghan and in Imam Sahib sub-division, Qonduz Province. Jowzjan and Qonduz are two northern provinces bordering the Soviet Union.

On April 25, the Mujahidin attacked a Soviet military camp at Pees Tapa, Qonduz Province as a result three Soviet tanks were destroyed and 18 enemy troops including three Soviet soldiers were killed.

In Qandahar, the second largest city of Afghanistan and its surrounding areas, the Mujahidin recently killed 58 Soviet-Karmal troops, destroyed seven tanks and armored cars, according to an AAP report. On April 27, the Mujahidin armed with rocket launchers and mortar guns ambushed a Soviet military convoy at Sangsahar on the Qandahar-Herat highway, destroyed five Soviet tanks and killed 31 Soviet-Karmal troops.

In Herat City the Mujahidin killed a Soviet brigadier and two Soviet soldiers on board a military jeep in a lightening attack on April 16.

In Paktia Province, the Mujahidin shot down an unmarked Soviet MiG. The Soviets were reported to have transferred several such unmarked planes to various Soviet air bases to conceal Soviet airforce losses.

#### Soviets Kill Afghan Civilians

OW031947 Beijing XINHUA in English 1442 GMT 3 May 84

[Text] Islambad, May 3 (XINHUA)--The fighting between Afghan guerrillas and Soviet-Karmal troops in Panjsher valley, a strategic guerrilla bastion north of Kabul, entered into the third week and so far over 1,000 civilians, mostly women, children and old people have been martyred, the Agency Afghan Press reported today.

The report said, a rescue force of over 600 Mujahidin fighters has reached Panjsher and succeeded in entering the valley in small groups.

The report said the Mujahidin have shot down a Soviet plane and two helicopters, near Najrab in the lower valley of river Panjsher.

Meanwhile, heavy fighting has been reported between the Mujahidin and a Soviet armored force, 10 kilometers from the Panjsher valley towards Mahmood Raqi, capital of Kapisa Province, where the Mujahidin have destroyed several Soviet tanks.

CSO: 4000/351

BRIEFS

PAKISTAN PRESIDENT ON AFGHAN REFUGEES--Islamabad, 10 May (XINHUA)--Pakistan president Ziaul Haq reiterated today that Pakistan would neither slam its door to the Afghan refugees nor would it shake hands with those who had grabbed power in Afghanistan with the help of foreign tanks, according to an APP report. Inaugurating a religious convention in Peshawar, the president deplored the "provocative assertions" that Pakistan denied admission of Afghan refugees. It was simply a shame to those who demand pushing back of Afghan refugees, he said. He paid a glowing tribute to the people and government of the northwest frontier province for providing the best possible shelter and humanitarian assistance within their limited means. There was no instance in the world history, wherein such a large number of refugees had been looked after for such a long period, the president said. [Text] [OW110136 Beijing XINHUA in English 0118 GMT 11 May 84]

NEPALESE FOREIGN POLICY--Katmandu, 5 May (XINHUA)--Non-alignment, peaceful coexistence and economic development are the fundamental objectives of Nepal's foreign policy, Nepalese King Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Devi said here yesterday. The RISING NEPAL reported today that the king said this while receiving credentials from Canadian ambassador to Nepal, W. T. Warden, at the Narayanhity royal palace. 'As economic progress is not possible in a climate of acrimony and uncertainty, we have endeavored to secure peace in our country, in the region and in the world. In essence, these objectives sum up our proposal to make Nepal a zone of peace,' he added. The king said that Nepal and Canada also share the goals of a peaceful world through the promotion of international cooperation and are committed to the concept of an international economic order based on the principles of justice and interdependence. [Text] [OW051350 Beijing XINHUA in English 1301 GMT 5 May 84]

CSO: 4000/351

## WESTERN HEMISPHERE

### U.S. DENOUNCED AT LATIN AMERICAN MAY DAY RALLIES

OW021857 Beijing XINHUA in English 1626 GMT 2 May 84

[Text] Beijing, May 2 (XINHUA)--Millions of Latin Americans held rallies and demonstrations in their countries to mark international Labor Day.

In Mexico, more than one million workers held a May Day procession yesterday at the Plaza of the Constitution in the capital. Some of their placards were inscribed with slogans expressing their support for the government's foreign policy and their determination to face crises. The procession was led by President Miguel de la Madrid, parliamentary leaders and trade unionists.

Nicaraguans celebrated May Day when their country is faced with the military threat of the United States. Coordinator Daniel Ortega and other members of the ruling junta joined 20,000 workers and peasants at a rally in Chinandega yesterday. Speaking at the rally, Jaime Wheelock, a leading member of the Sandinist National Liberation Front, vehemently condemned the United States for its aggression against Nicaragua. The primary task of the Nicaraguans, he noted, is to defend the sovereignty of their country "until the last drop of their blood."

In Buenos Aires, tens of thousands of Argentine workers gathered at a rally yesterday at which speakers emphasized the necessity of safeguarding the workers' rights to have technical training and enjoy good health care and improved social welfare.

At May Day rallies in several Brazilian cities, participants called for full employment and immediate restoration of direct presidential elections in the country.

Chilean workers also called for more job opportunities and the return to democracy at a rally in Santiago. At the end of the rally, police clashed with demonstrators, leaving more than 30 people wounded and over 120 arrested.

In San Jose, Costa Rica, 20,000 May Day demonstrators demanded higher pay and controlled prices and opposed U.S. intervention in Central America.



Yesterday, half a million Cubans held a May Day procession in Havana at which the United States was accused of pursuing a policy of intervention in Central America.

Honduran and Salvadoran workers marked May Day with protests against their government's policies and the U.S. military presence in their countries. An estimated 20,000 to 50,000 workers marched in Honduras while in San Salvador, more than 2,000 workers defied a 4-year-old state of siege to protest.

May Day celebrations were also held in Venezuela, Panama, Uruguay, Dominica and Guatemala.

CSO: 4000/350

NATIONAL

REVIEW OF PRC PRESS ARRANGEMENTS FOR HU'S JAPAN VISIT

Beijing XINWEN ZHANXIAN in Chinese No 1, 1984 pp 16-17

[Article by Jiang Yuanchun [5592 0955 2797]: "Some Insights From Covering Comrade Hu Yaobang's Visit to Japan"]

[Text] At the invitation of the Japanese Government, Comrade Hu Yaobang, General Secretary of the party Central Committee, made a friendly visit to Japan during 23 to 30 November 1983. It was the first time that a leader of our party visited a developed capitalist country, which shows Japan's importance in our party's and government's relationship with foreign countries. During his visit, Comrade Hu Yaobang made wide contacts with people in both the government and private sectors, especially with the youth. He visited the large regions between Hokkaido and Nagasaki and achieved the anticipated goal of seeking a stable long-term development of a friendly relationship between China and Japan and it has great significant importance for the further development of friendly relations between the two countries.

In order that the visit would be properly reported, RENMIN RIBAO sent its Tokyo correspondent, Comrade Sun Dongmin [1327 2639 3046], and myself to cover the visiting group. With the help of people involved from both countries and comrades from our newspaper, we sent our seven dispatches, two news releases and one editorial and smoothly completed our assignment. In this article, I will discuss some insights I have gained from my news coverage work.

In general, covering the visit of party and government leaders is a relatively difficult task. First, in order to assure the safety of the guest and maintain order, the host country on many occasions restricts the activities of reporters (including reporters from both sides and other foreign reporters). This is especially true with meetings and personal visits when reporters are not allowed or only a very small number of reporters are allowed to station at assigned locations and watch from a distance. The reporters can only rely on briefings by press officials for information on the discussions between the two sides. So despite the fact that he is there, a reporter is actually deaf and blind; he knows nothing for himself and has no way to make a report. Or, he may have heard something from a press official of another country, but he really does not know the actual situation and is reluctant to send a report. Second, the itinerary is generally very tight, with one event closely following another. A reporter is often kept a long distance away, where he cannot see

or hear anything. Even in places where he can move around to cover a story, he can only watch, listen and make some mental notes. Before he has time to consider how to make a report, the next event is already taking place. A reporter must organize his thoughts or start writing when he is in a car or on a plane. The first thing he does when he arrives at his lodging is to sit down and write his report, and only after it is sent out can he think of eating or resting. Third, other than by facsimile or telephone, there is no way to send a report in Chinese from abroad. The use of romanization of Chinese would require translating by both the sender and the receiver and thus reduces timeliness. Fourth, the time difference must be considered. A report must reach the editorial department of a newspaper before a deadline. When the time difference is large, the day's report often must be sent out in the morning or during local daytime hours, otherwise the report would not appear in the next day's paper. This increases the tension under which the reporter works. We fully considered these unfavorable conditions. At the same time, we were also aware of the favorable conditions for the assignment. For instance, because of the relatively small number of Chinese reporters compared with Japanese reporters, the Japanese allowed the Chinese reporters to move around on many occasions. Tokyo time is one hour earlier than Beijing time. For this reason, reports could be sent out as late as around 11 o'clock at night. We have reporters permanently stationed in Tokyo who were able to gather some essential information and make coverage arrangements related to the visit beforehand. And our Tokyo correspondent had installed a telephone facsimile, so that sending out reports from Tokyo was easier. Moreover, through close cooperation between a reporter sent out from China who had a better understanding of policy and a reporter stationed abroad who was familiar with the local conditions, better results could be achieved. Full evaluation of these favorable and unfavorable conditions made us confident that we could do a good reporting job.

I believe that the reason that we were able to do a fairly satisfactory reporting job was due first to our having a deeper understanding of the goal and significance of the visit made by Comrade Hu Yaobang. Thus, we were clearer and more definitive on the leading ideology which ran through all our reports. The purpose of Comrade Hu Yaobang's visit to Japan was not to talk in general terms about problems of friendly cooperation between China and Japan. It was to discuss with Japanese in both the public and private sectors how to continue such a relationship into the 21st century or how to pass on to the younger generation the friendly tasks established by the older generations of both countries so that the desire for continued friendly relations for generations to come may become a reality. Thus, his contacts with people in various areas, especially the younger generation, were our reporting emphasis. Comrade Hu Yaobang is the leader of the party. His position is different from a leader of the government, and our reporting needed to highlight this special characteristic. By clearly defining this reporting ideology we were able to specially select and report activities which embodied this primary theme and to avoid being tied up by many other daily activities in his itinerary. Therefore, we did not cover certain meetings and visits and concentrated instead on doing a good job of primary reporting work.

Next, we followed one rule strictly: Our reporting should differ somewhat from the reports of the XINHUA NEWS AGENCY and should have its own characteristics. News reports made by the XINHUA NEWS AGENCY did not need to be dupli-

cated by us. Our reports emphasized the description of on-the-spot scenes, atmosphere, people, conversations and movements and should include any necessary commentary so that the readers would have a feeling of actually experiencing what was going on and the reports would improve the readers' impressions and understanding of what happened. This required a keen sense of observation on the reporter's part so that he could select circumstances that best expressed the primary ideological theme from complex and minute phenomena and report them. This type of description and introduction of details which supported the primary theme could be found in each of our seven dispatches. Not only did it satisfy the reader's desire to have a better understanding of the situation but it also made it less likely for our reports to become loaded with fancy phrases and technical terms, and the reports were therefore more lively and readable.

In order to do a good reporting job, we had made relatively ample advance preparations and gained a definitive understanding both of the history and current conditions of the several places that Comrade Hu Yaobang wanted to visit and of the friendly historical relationship between Japan and China. But this alone was not enough. It was also necessary to use every opportunity to collect current information on the spot so that it could be used in our reports. For instance, in our dispatch reporting on Comrade Hu Yaobang's talk to Japanese youths entitled "Pass the Peaceful and Friendly Sino-Japanese Relationship On to the Next Generation," we mentioned that more than 150 youth organizations had participated in the gathering. We got this information at the reception given by Ambassador Song Zhiguang [1345 0037 0342] the night before during a friendly chat with Mr Xi YUAN Si Yi Huang [6007 0954 1408 0001 2515; translator's note: romanization of a Japanese name], the person responsible for the "Welcoming Secretary Hu Youth Action Committee," and other Japanese friends engaged in the youth movement.

With a clear and definitive principal ideological theme, rich on-the-spot circumstances and ample related information, we were able to write our reports fairly smoothly and rapidly. In doing anything, the beginning is the difficult part. This is also true with writing reports. With a good beginning, the writing progresses smoothly. When we were in a car or on a plane, we often discussed what things we should emphasize, what circumstances we should include and how the report should begin. We started writing as soon as we reached our lodging place and were able to complete our report in about an hour's time. This allowed us to send the report out early.

This type of news coverage activity is rather tiring. We already felt rather tired after the day's activity. In order to rush the report out or to rush to the next activity, sometimes we could not even be bothered with eating and could only let our stomachs remain empty. Thus, a reporter must be healthy and be able to endure physical hardship. In order to train our news covering and writing ability and lessen fatigue, Comrade Sun Dongmin and I took turns writing reports. I believe that this is a very good way to improve a reporter's professional ability.

The editorial department of our newspaper gave us a great deal of help during our assignment. This is also a very important link. The editorial department made arrangements for telephone facsimile and telephone recording equipment

beforehand and assigned special persons to man the equipment. When we tried to send our first dispatch from Tokyo via the facsimile, the line was bad and we tried for half an hour without success and we were really perspiring. We decided to wait for an hour before trying again and this time, the transmission went through very smoothly, taking only a few minutes. When we tried to send our dispatch by telephone from Osaka on Comrade Hu Yaobang's visit to Lan Shan [1526 1472; translator's note: romanization of Japanese name], we could not hear clearly because of a bad line and we had to yell very loudly. It took us a whole hour to complete our transmission and by the time we put down the receiver, we were so tired we felt sick. Under these conditions, the comrades manning the equipment in the editorial department were able to sympathize with the reporters. From beginning to end, they conscientiously came on duty each night and showed a friendly attitude. The comrades on duty handling telephone relays also did their best to connect us rapidly and properly. All of this gave us a great deal of support.

In summary, the reporting on Comrade Hu Yaobang's visit to Japan was the result of combined efforts of various areas. If there is any reflection, it is this: China's media workers must improve the reporting work for this type of event. Besides raising our own professional standards, it is also necessary to overcome the many language and technical difficulties in transmitting reports. This is a matter closely related to the great cause of achieving the four modernizations by the people of our country.

5974

CSO: 4005/446

## EAST REGION

### OPPOSITION TO 'THEORY OF SOCIALIST ALIENATION'

Nanjing JIANGHAI XUEKAN [JIANGHAI ACADEMIC JOURNAL] in Chinese No 1, 1984  
pp 37-40

[Article by Bai Bo [4101 3134]: "A Comment on the So-called 'Theory of Socialist Alienation'"]

[Text] In recent years the "alienation" problem has been a topic that has drawn people's close attention and which theoretical circles often discuss. According to statistics, more than 600 articles concerning "alienation" have appeared in publications. Among them the majority have been studies of Marx's "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844." Many of these articles provide a practical, realistic and appropriate appraisal of the position and function of the "Manuscripts" in the process of establishing and developing Marxism, and these inquiries are beneficial. However, there are also a number of comrades who separate the "Manuscripts" from Marxism and say that Marxism once established a kind of "theory of alienation," and even advocate the use of this "theory of alienation" to observe and study China's last 30-odd years. They are especially interested in the economical, political, ideological and cultural phenomena during the 10 years of internal upheaval, and in keeping with this, they have brought up the task of "exterminating alienation." Certain comrades within the literary and artistic circles, busily taking up this "theory of alienation," have asserted that this is a kind of theory that has guiding significance for artistic creations and have brought up as well the slogan "Express alienation, expose alienation, exterminate alienation." This kind of so-called "socialist theory of alienation" is a mistaken theory, and we must analyze and criticize it.

#### 1. Does the "Marxist Theory of Alienation" Exist?

Some comrades say that "Marx and Engels assimilated the rational core of the thought of Hegel and Feuerbach, threw away the outer shell of their historical idealism and settled onto the foundation of materialism to remold it into the alienist perspective of Marxism."

So then, let us take a look to see whether this "theory of alienation" really exists.

In the "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844" Marx employed a general

"alienation" viewpoint and used as well "alienated labor" to express his view of economics. He showed the essence of private property and indicated the historical imperative and temporality of class struggle, class exploitation and other phenomena. Later, in writing other works like "Capital," he used "negation" as a substitute for the general "alienation" viewpoint and used "wage labor" as a substitute for "alienated labor." Therefore, no matter what, one cannot conclude from this that Marx once strove to establish a kind of "theory of alienation."

Here is an example to show how Marx defined this concept of "the human essence":

In 1844, under the influence of Feuerbach's materialism, Marx put a special emphasis on the relationship of nature and man or, we may say, emphasized the inquiry into the most natural relationship of humans with each other. In the "Manuscripts," he said, "The relation of man to woman is the direct, natural and necessary relation of person to person. In this natural species relationship, man's relation to nature is immediately his relation to man, just as his relation to man is immediately his relation to nature--his own natural destination. In this relationship, therefore, is sensuously manifested, reduced to an observable fact, the extent to which the human essence has become nature to man, or to which nature to him has become the human essence of man."<sup>1</sup> Very obviously, whether one is speaking from the point of form or from content, Marx in this exposition of the human essence is very near the view of Feuerbach, showing that he had already become completely liberated from Hegel's speculative system. He continually moved forward from this basis, going on to point out, "Industry is nature and is therefore the actual, historical relation between natural science and man. Therefore, if we see industry as the esoteric revelation of man's essential powers, then the human essence belonging to nature, or man's natural essence, can be understood..."<sup>2</sup> This passage shows that Marx's thought had already progressed toward an even deeper direction.

Finally, a half year later, in the spring of 1845, Marx wrote the famous "On Feuerbach." In this article Marx gave an incisive definition to the human essence: "The human essence is definitely no abstraction inherent in each single individual. In its reality it is the ensemble of social relations."<sup>3</sup> He also criticized Feuerbach's explanation of human essence as "genus," that is, "as an internal, dumb generality which merely naturally unites the many individuals." In this way, Marx finally draws a line between himself and the humanism of Feuerbach, consequently establishing a kind of new worldview.

With the example discussed above we can see that Marx's train of thought kept on a straight line toward historical materialism and did not move toward "the alienist view."

## 2. Within What Limits Did Marx Employ the Concept of "Alienation"?

"Manuscripts" is a masterpiece of the period of formation of Marxism, and it clearly reflects the imprint of the development of Marxist ideology. Its inevitable and inseparable relation to Marxism is undeniable. However, it

still did not reach the ideological heights attained in Marx's later thinking. This is because Marx's criticism of Hegel in these manuscripts had not completely thrown off the influence of Feuerbach. This can be seen clearly in two passages in the preface to "Manuscripts."

"It is only with Feuerbach that positive, humanistic and naturalistic criticism begins. The less noise they make, the more certain, profound, widespread and enduring is the effect of Feuerbach's writings, the only writings since Hegel's 'Phenomenology' and 'Logic' to contain a real theoretical revolution."<sup>4</sup>

"How far, on the other hand, Feuerbach's discoveries about the nature of philosophy required still, for their proof at least, a critical settling of accounts with philosophical dialectic will be seen from my exposition itself."<sup>5</sup>

The two passages above make clear that at this time Marx was fundamentally approving of Feuerbach and that he used this as a weapon to criticize Hegel's legalistic philosophy, and as well passed through this criticism to reach a criticism of bourgeois law and state theories. Of course, this definitely does not imply that Marx at this period was always restrained within Feuerbach's philosophical bounds. He was also conscientiously establishing his own worldview.

In their articles, many comrades have quoted the line from "Manuscripts" that goes: "Communism is the positive transcendence of private property, which is human self-estrangement". We cannot onesidedly understand this line as meaning that Marx only talked of communism from the point of view of humanitarianism. Here, he made a clear provision about "human self-estrangement namely, to explain "human self-estrangement" from within the realm of "private property." In many places, he even referred to the two things as one, clearly explaining that private property equals alienation, as on page 56 of "Manuscripts" where he says, "Private property acts as the material, generalized expression of externalized labor." On page 73, he says, "Communism...with the abolition of the state, is yet still incomplete and is still affected by private property, i.e., by the estrangement of man." On page 74, he says, "This material, immediately perceptible private property is the material perceptible expression of estranged human life." Thus, "private property" is just the interrelation between labor and capital.

We can see that Marx, at the time when he said that "Communism is the positive transcendence of private property, which is human self-estrangement", had already surpassed Feuerbach and consequently had taken a great step forward toward historical materialism.

In this way we can say that the concept of "alienation" that Marx used at this time was not a pure abstract human essence or a species-essential alienation but was actually the kind of real relation between labor and capital. In the end he reached the conclusion: "Labor is understood separately as self and wages, and the laborer himself is both capital and commodity, that is, capital equals accumulated labor." Here it may be said that he actually had



expressed the Marxian concept of surplus labor and surplus value.

Later, in the book "The German Ideology," he thoroughly exposed and criticized the mistaken viewpoint held formerly by all philosophers, including Feuerbach. He said that they viewed the whole historical development process as the human development process: "This way, the entire historical process would be seen as the human alienation process,...and because of this kind of method that puts the incidental before the fundamental, namely, because of the open abandonment of actual conditions, they therefore could change all history into the process of the development of consciousness."<sup>6</sup> Which is to say, the historical development process can only be productive forces and production relations, this pair of contradictory development processes.

Marx thus sets out in this way from economic facts, passes through an investigation and study of alienated labor and capital, in order finally to transcend this concept of "labor alienation" and establish historical materialism.

Therefore, we may say that only at one particular stage of his thinking did Marx employ the concept of "alienation" because he had not yet completely drawn the line between himself and Feuerbach.

### 3. Does the Existence of a Division of Labor in Socialist Society Imply that "Socialist Alienation" Exists?

Some comrades consider that "since socialist society is still a society in process, since the developmental level of production forces is still not high and since there is still a division of labor that is not voluntary but spontaneous, therefore, for the person, his own labor is a kind of alienation, which still exists in forces set against him, and this is a reality that we cannot ignore."

This is a kind of conceptual confusion. What is the connotation of "division of labor"? Is division of labor within the capitalist system and that within the socialist system the same thing?

First, the concept of "oppressed division of labor" of which Marx spoke is actually a phrase with the same meaning as "private ownership (of the means of production)."

He said it this way: "Actually, division of labor and private ownership are two phrases with the same meaning that refer to one kind of thing, one speaking of activity and the other the product of activity." Well, then, of what thing is he speaking? Obviously it is production relations, especially the production relations of capitalism. From the very beginning, division of labor included the distribution of labor conditions and the tools and materials of labor and at the same time includes the distribution of accumulated capital among each private owner. In this way, it is also certain to include the division between capital and labor as well as the various dissimilar forms of the ownership itself.

Obviously, this concept of "division of labor" is a thing within the scope of economics under a capitalist system. Marx felt that "precisely in the fact that division of labor and exchange are embodiments of private property lies the twofold proof, on the one hand, that human life required private property for its realization and, on the other hand, that it now requires the supersession of private property."<sup>8</sup>

It is just because the concept of "division of labor" has this definite a connotation that we cannot treat this phrase from the point of view of ordinary meaning.

Well, how, then, are we to explain the division of labor in socialism? For sure, a division of labor exists in socialist society, but it is a division of labor based on public ownership and is a planned division of labor. There is a difference in principle and in essence between the division of labor in our time and the oppressed, spontaneous division of labor in capitalist society, but it is not yet a self-conscious, voluntary division of labor, so there is no way to talk of the elimination of the division of labor.

How are we to understand Marx when he says, "As long as the division of labor is still not voluntary but spontaneous, then the activity of man himself is a kind of alienated power that is set against him, as far as he is concerned." After all, what is that kind of "alienated power that is set against him"?

Marx had a clear explanation of this: "The common activities of individuals unequally restricted by the division of labor produces a kind of social power, namely, a broadened productive force. Because common activities themselves are of a form such that they are not voluntary but spontaneous, therefore this kind of productive force in the eyes of the individuals is not the united power of themselves but is an alienated power external to them."<sup>9</sup>

Therefore, "social forces" are just "broadened productive forces," which are then "power," which is then "the state," which is then a political power where one class represses and controls another class. It may also be said that that kind of "alienated power, in opposition to him," is the entire economic base under all oppressive systems and the power manifested by the superstructure. Economically, it shows as the oppression of laborers by capitalists using methods to extort surplus labor and surplus value and politically, is shown as the political authority that for the bourgeoisie makes use of military forces, police and prisons to oppress laborers.

Therefore, we cannot indiscriminately use this ready-made conclusion of Marx on the reality of today's socialist society and even more cannot use a kind of seemingly true but actually false understanding to substitute for scientific, meticulous study and carelessly say that socialism has an alienation produced by a division of labor.

It is even said that there are several evils in our present society, such as bureaucratism, unhealthy tendencies, waste of talent, waste in economic construction, unwillingness to distribute responsibility, a patriarchal system,

etc., and we want to do a concrete analysis of these things. Among them, some are influenced by old habits and tendencies, and that is a problem of doing a better job of eliminating the remnants of feudal thinking. Some are due to the encroachment of outside capitalism and can be solved by party consolidation and rectification of spirit as well as increased ideological education. Some will depend on the reform of the cadre system, and some will need to be solved by reform of the economic management system and the administrative management system. As for all these, if one just sticks on the label of "alienation," which is both not in keeping with the actual situation and which cannot solve any problem anyway, the result would, as a matter of fact, not be at all useful to a truthful solution of these problems.

Some comrades have said, "If we don't do well, that might produce a new alienation," and speak of the party and state's determination to attack serious illegal activities within the economic realms as measures to "guard against producing a new alienation problem." They feel that if we do not act in this way, "then the capitalist class's sugared bullets coming from all directions might just hit certain of our cadre and masses, creating first an economic alienation, an ideological alienation and then a serious situation of political alienation." This kind of explanation is theoretically illogical. As to why we want to attack economic illegal activity, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said it most clearly: "We must keep our hand at lifting restrictions to the outside, and internally enliven the economy. However, in order to ensure that these policies can truly be advantageous to the four modernizations in the process of their implementation, and can stay the socialist course, at the same time we must try our hand at something else, which is to attack economic illegal activity. Without this effort, there would be no restrictions."<sup>10</sup> Where does this say anything about "guarding against producing a new alienation problem?"

In sum, then, Marx speaks of the division of labor, labor and labor alienation from the viewpoint of capitalist economic facts, and these may not be simply and indiscriminately used in regard to socialist society.

#### 4. The "Theory of Alienation" and Artistic Works

Some comrades within the literary and artistic circles also have a kind of conception where they say that what Marx called "alienist viewpoint" has a general guiding significance for artistic creations. They feel that in reflecting the artistic works of capitalist society they ought to reflect and depict man's self-alienation and say, moreover, that "Marx at this time in the criticism of certain artistic works was thoroughly imbued with this kind of thinking."

As everyone knows, certain artistic works, like Lasalle's historical drama "Franz von Sickingen," the fiction of Karl Kautsky and (Ma. Hakenaisi) [phonetic], the works of Balzac, as well as classical Roman mythology, ancient Greek drama, and the like, were judged by Marx and Engels to be original and spoke of their artistic principles and their literary point of view. They provided the theoretical basis for the establishment of the Marxist aesthetic theories. That being so, they never introduced the concept of "alienation"

into the aesthetic realm. On the contrary, their historical materialism made them oppose the production of abstract discussions of consciousness. They said emphatically, "The true spiritual wealth of an individual is determined by the wealth of his actual relations."<sup>11</sup> When speaking of the historical viewpoint of materialism, he explained even more clearly, "History was definitely not created by 'produced by the spirit of the spirit' melting into 'self-consciousness.' At each stage of history were encountered definite material consequences, the sum of finite production forces, relations formed in history between humans and nature, and between humans and humans..."<sup>12</sup> This goes to show that the Marx and Engels who had already established the viewpoint of historical materialism from beginning to end set out from an economic base, from the realm of production relations, in studying aesthetic phenomena and that we cannot speak of requiring the use of the viewpoint of "human self-alienation" to criticize artistic works and to guide artistic creation.

Then are the various problems appearing in socialist aesthetics just as certain comrades have said them to be? Is it that "one of the reasons that the lofty exaggerated paper figure characters that appear in our artistic works and seem so formalized, so generalized as portrayals of characters, is it that writers and other artists seldom study and research the Marxian alienist viewpoint, much less use it to guide their own creative practice"?

If we place the problems appearing in our artistic works on the hook of whether or not writers have grasped the "alienist viewpoint," then several problems become inexplicable.

If we allowed the propositions that we denied above, then that would imply affirmation of another proposition: In case authors would conscientiously study and utilize the Marxian alienist view, as well as use it to guide their creative practice, then they will produce works that may be rated as fine works of literature. To go further, one may then say that all good works are produced under the guidance of the alienist viewpoint. Does this fit with the realities of the creation? Of course, the answer is no.

Moreover, can the basic concepts in the aesthetic theory of the realities of life and art, the sources of art, realism and romanticism, succession and synthesis, etc., all be drawn from the "alienist view"? Of course they cannot be. The basic concepts of the reality and class nature of art are actually reflections of relations between art and real life, art and politics and other superstructures. These relations can only be analyzed and resolved through the historical materialist viewpoint.

We have already earlier proved that the so-called "socialist alienation" does not exist, which is to say that the forms of socialist material production, well as the activities of people within them, have no uncontrollable force that produces alienation and externalization. Therefore, not only may we not speak of using the "alienist viewpoint" to guide artistic creation, but neither can we speak of artistic creation needing to express this kind of "socialist alienation."

As for the various problems that have appeared in the practice of artistic creation, we ought to undertake a practical and realistic study. Not mentioning the conspiratorial art of the "Gang of Four," that things like "perfection", "deficiency", formalism, generalization, etc., exist and have complicated reasons, most important among which is that some writers have not studied well, researched well nor paid close attention to the materialist historical viewpoint. They are not clear about the basic proposition of whether existence determines consciousness or whether consciousness determines existence and neglect the principle that "life is the only source for art."

Naturally, because of this we may not oppose the exposure of the dark side of things as left over from the old society, nor do we oppose art taking up the responsibility for criticizing all mistaken thinking and actions that are not helpful to the four modernizations. However, art can only complete this task under the direction of the party and by keeping to the stand of the people. Whether it is "what to write" or "how to write," our art should take a firm revolutionary and positive stand with an eye to improving the spiritual environment of the people, encouraging people's resolve and strengthening their faith. If the alienation phenomenon of capitalist society is forced upon socialism, even to the extent of advocating using the "theory of socialist alienation" to guide artistic creation, that will only disseminate doubts and negative feelings through socialist society. This would completely go against the realities of life and the aspirations of 1 billion people.

#### FOOTNOTES

1,2,4,5,8. See "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844," (Renmin Chubanshe, 1979) pp 72, 81, 2, 4, 102, respectively.

3,6,7,9,11,12. See "Complete Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 3 pp 3, 5, 77, 37, 38, 43, respectively.

10. See "Literary Works of Deng Xiaoping" p 364.

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CSO: 4005/437

## SOUTHWEST REGION

### BRIEFS

MORE LAMASERIES TO OPEN--Lhasa, 9 May (XINHUA)--A large number of lamaseries in Tibet will be repaired and open to the public over the next five or six years. This was disclosed by Yin Fatang, first secretary of the Communist Party Committee of the Tibet Autonomous Region, at a local party meeting recently. He did not mention the exact number of lamaseries in the program. Since 1980, 45 monasteries have been repaired and reopened to the public. These and other lamaseries in Tibet now house more than 1,400 monks and nuns. Included in the renovation program are renowned lamaseries on the outskirts of cities and towns as well as those in remote areas, and new religious facilities. "The Chinese Communists are atheists but sincere in carrying out the policy of freedom of religious belief," said Vzyin Fatang at the meeting. "They respect the fact that almost all Tibetans believe in Lamaism for historical reasons. The party organizations in Tibet will continue to eliminate the influence of the 'Cultural Revolution' which banned all religious activities," he added. [Text] [OW091327 Beijing XINHUA in English 1048 GMT 9 May 84]

CSO: 4000/349

TAIWAN, SAINT LUCIA ESTABLISH DIPLOMATIC TIES

Foreign Ministry Announcement

OW081723 Taipei CNA in English 1422 GMT 8 May 84

[Text] Taipei, 8 May (CNA)--The Republic of China and Saint Lucia Tuesday established ambassadorial-level diplomatic relations, the Foreign Ministry announced Tuesday.

Minister without portfolio Lin Chin-sheng has been appointed as the nation's special envoy and is visiting the country in the Caribbean Sea.

He and Saint Lucia Prime Minister John G. M. Compton, on behalf of their respective nations, signed Tuesday in Saint Lucia's capital, Castries, a joint communique "to set up diplomatic relations for the promotion of world peace and cooperation among nations," according to the ministry.

They also, on the occasion, inked an agreement on agricultural technical cooperation between the two nations.

The ministry said it will announce the assignment of an ambassador to Saint Lucia within a few days.

Prime Minister Compton had visited Taipei in Mid-January and was deeply impressed with development in this country.

The opening of diplomatic relations is one of the ministry's achievements in its efforts to win the support of the world's newly independent countries.

Saint Lucia, located between Saint Vincent and the French island of Martinique, has a population of 140,000 and an area of 616 square kilometers.

It became independent from British rule in 1979 and has joined the United Nations.

Saint Lucia is an agricultural country. Its main products include bananas, coconuts, spices and lumber.

Ambassador Named

OW021455 Taipei CNA in English 1342 GMT 2 May 84

[Text] Taipei, 2 May (CNA)--The Central Standing Committee of the Kuomintang approved Wednesday at its weekly meeting the appointment of Wang Meng-hsien, ambassador of the Republic of China in the Dominican Republic, to serve concurrently as the ambassador to St Lucia.

The Republic of China and St Lucia simultaneously declared 11 April that they would establish diplomatic relations. The Chinese Government has sent Lin Chin-sheng, minister without portfolio, to St Lucia to sign a joint communique with the government of that Caribbean nation for the establishment of official ties. The communique-signing ceremony is slated for 8 May.

Formerly a British colony, St Lucia became independent on 22 February 1979. It is the 25th country to have diplomatic ties with the Republic of China.

Located in the eastern Caribbean Sea, St Lucia has a territory of 616 square kilometers and a population of 14,000.

Ambassador Wang, 62, is a native of Chekiang Province. He graduated from National Central University in 1945. He had been consul general in Vancouver, Canada, minister of the Chinese Embassy in Australia and the ambassador of the Republic of China to Paraguay before he was named ambassador to the Dominican Republic.

CSO: 4000/343



## BRIEFS

YUAN-TSU IN S. AFRICA--Cape Town, 2 May (CNA)--South African Prime Minister P. W. Botha received the Republic of China's minister of justice, Dr Li Yuan-tsu, at his office in Cape Town Wednesday and had a friendly talk with him for 35 minutes. Minister Li was accompanied by Chinese Ambassador H. K. Yang through the audience. He extended President Chiang Ching-kuo's warm regards to Prime Minister Botha, and was asked by the prime minister to relay his best wishes to President Chiang and Premier Sun Yun-hsuan. They also exchanged views on current world affairs and matters of mutual concern to the two countries. Later in the day, Minister Li, accompanied by Ambassador Yang and Chinese Consul General H. C. Chan, visited a South African prison to see its facilities and administration. He also met with his South African counterpart, Minister Kobie Coetsee, for the second time after his arrival in South Africa last Thursday as Minister Coetsee's guest. The visit to South Africa by Minister Li is almost certain to result in increased exchanges between the two countries in the administration of law. South Africa is expected to send some experts to the Republic of China later this year to see its operations in crime prevention as well as its prison administration. [Text] [OW031057 Taipei CNA in English 1040 GMT 3 May 84]

TAIPEI EXHIBITION--Taipei, 5 May (CNA)--A total of 419 booths have been booked by manufacturers from 11 European countries for the second European products exhibition to be held in Taipei, 3 to 9 September, according to the Board of Foreign Trade (BOFT). The deadline for registration has now been extended from the original 30 April cutoff date to mid-May to allow more makers to take part. The participating countries include West Germany, France, Sweden, Australia, Great Britain, Denmark, Holland, Switzerland, Spain, Greece and Belgium. All of the participants will display their products in the form of national pavilions, a BOFT spokesman said. The exhibition is designed to facilitate the transfer of high technology from Europe to the Republic of China. [Text] [OW050349 Taipei CNA in English 0322 GMT 5 May 84]

CSO: 4000/343

## HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

### HONG KONG GOVERNOR ARRIVES IN PRC FOR TALKS

HK081243 Hong Kong Television Broadcasts Limited in English 1100 GMT 8 May 84

[Text] The 14th round of Sino-British talks on Hong Kong's future will open in Beijing tomorrow. The governor, Sir Edward Youde, has flown into Beijing to prepare for the talks. Nick Griffin sent this report from the Chinese capital: [Begin recording] Sir Edward Youde was met on arrival in Beijing by officials from the British Embassy who escorted, or as some observers noted, bulldozed a way clear for him out of the airport building. As usual, Sir Edward gave away very little though he did admit one or two things: He reaffirmed that this round of talks would continue tying up loose ends left over from Sir Geoffrey Howe's visit earlier last month. Sir Edward was not optimistic, though, about the chances of a slightly longer, more meaty statement being issued at the end of this round of talks. British Ambassador Sir Richard Evans was not at the airport to meet the governor.

Earlier in the day, Sir Richard refused to comment on the possibility of a longer break between the ending of the 14th and the start of the 15th round of talks on Hong Kong's future. He stressed there was no set timetable for the talks, and that the National People's Congress, due to start next week, would not affect them.

However, it has been learned that because of the NPC, and the governor's holiday in England, the 15th round of talks probably will not get under way until at least the end of the month. The new head of chancery of the British Embassy, Peter Thompson, is not due to arrive until Thursday, so his place at the talks will be taken by the embassy's second secretary political [as heard], Tom Smith.

Meanwhile, further evidence of China's softening of its stance on the September deadline has surfaced. A senior Chinese official has said that if anything, only a draft agreement will be ready by September, with the full, ratified agreement not being signed until at least the end of the year. It has also been revealed that next week's National People's Congress will not even focus on the Hong Kong issue. They are not expected to discuss the issue at all until a draft mini-constitution has been drafted for Hong Kong. However, the Hong Kong and Macao Subcommittee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference would definitely touch on it. Be that as it may, the 14th round of talks get underway for 2 days tomorrow, after which the almost mandatory two-adjunctive statement is expected to be issued, though observers are hoping for something more this time. But for that we will just have to wait and see. [End recording]

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

HONG KONG GROUP ASKS FOR END TO SECRECY ON 1997

HK090336 Hong Kong SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST in English 5 May 84 p 2

["Open letter to Sir Geoffrey" from the Hong Kong Observers group: "Continued Secrecy Will Undermine Talks"]

[Text] The foreign secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, indicated clearly in his statement on Hong Kong's future that it would not be realistic to think of an agreement that provides for continued British administration in Hong Kong after 1997. The question which arises is--what are Britain's responsibilities to Hong Kong?

It was with this question in mind that we wrote this open letter to Sir Geoffrey.

Dear Sir Geoffrey,

On 20 April, on behalf of the British Government, you made the first substantive statement on Hong Kong's future administration.

We appreciate the need for confidentiality for the Sino-British negotiations to progress but continued secrecy would only serve to undermine the credibility of the talks.

The negotiations are about the future of more than 5 1/2 million people in Hong Kong who are painfully aware of the fact that they cannot be a party to nor can they be privy to the negotiations.

Our anxieties and frustration are real and they have to be alleviated.

Disclosure

The settlement with regard to Hong Kong's future must be acceptable to the people of Hong Kong.

It is essential, therefore, that the British Government makes public the general directions and objectives of the negotiations from time to time, so that the people of Hong Kong can make their views known and so that your government can reflect those views in the talks accordingly.

## Consultation

It is insufficient for the British Government to rely on the present consultative machinery for the following reasons:

Although the Executive and Legislative Councils are the most authoritative bodies in Hong Kong, the members of the two councils are not elected nor do they claim to be representative. Furthermore, we do not know what views they have reflected on our behalf.

The district boards and the Urban Council can claim to have an elective base. However, the jurisdiction of these bodies does not cover representation over 1997.

Visits to Hong Kong by British ministers to keep in touch with opinions here have so far yielded little satisfaction. This consultative process has neither been methodical nor thorough enough for meaningful representations to be made.

Meetings with British ministers have taken place in large gatherings with hardly enough time for in-depth discussions to take place.

The future of Hong Kong will ultimately be debated by British members of parliament and, thus, it is important for us to express our views to them.

However, it must be pointed out that members of parliament do not represent the British administration and, therefore, is not a consultative channel for the administration.

More fundamentally, the duty of the members of parliament is owed to their own constituencies. They are not accountable to the public of Hong Kong and therefore they are not a representative channel for the people here. You indicated that the British Government has not come to a conclusion about the best of several alternatives of assessing the opinion of the people of Hong Kong and that there are some very real drawbacks to the idea of a referendum. We would very much like to hear what these alternatives and drawbacks are.

## The Agreement

We understand from your statement that the British Government's objectives are to arrive at a framework of arrangements that would:

Secure for Hong Kong, after 1997, a high degree of autonomy under Chinese sovereignty.

Preserve the way of life in Hong Kong, together with the essentials at the present systems.

An agreement in which these arrangements will be formally recorded.

In our view, such an agreement must secure for Hong Kong:

Continuity of the legal, social and economic systems and preservation of the inherent values of these systems and the civil liberties enjoyed today.

A democratic and elected governmental structure that would be representative of and accountable to the people of Hong Kong.

Separation of power among the executive, legislature and judiciary and the independence of the judiciary.

Full authority for the future government of Hong Kong in the running of its internal affairs as well as certain powers covering external relations, especially economic affairs.

Assurance that changes to Hong Kong's future administration would not be made except on the initiation of the people of Hong Kong.

It is vital for the Sino-British agreement to set out the political structure for Hong Kong's future administration.

For the legal, social and economic systems and the spirit behind these systems to be preserved, we must have a political structure that is effective and capable of maintaining these conditions of life.

#### Certainly and Continuity

You made it clear that it is the British Government's position to remove the uncertainty over the future of the territory and to secure continuity of the way of life here for at least 50 years.

We appreciate that the reference to at least 50 years was made in an effort to give some degree of assurance of continuity.

However, if this position implies that Hong Kong will be subject to changes over which it will not have control when this period expires, then we do not find the position tenable or any more certain than what it is today.

#### Spirit of Autonomy

It is the stated policy of the Chinese Government that Hong Kong's differences will be respected and indeed the PRC constitution was amended to create special administration status for Hong Kong.

We reiterate that any changes to the Hong Kong administration after 1997 must only be made on the initiation of the people of Hong Kong.

The principle of autonomy must be extended to allow the people of Hong Kong to determine for themselves whether any changes are required. Changes must evolve from within the community and not be imposed upon us.

## International Recognition

To maintain Hong Kong's success, it will be necessary to secure the recognition of Hong Kong's future status and the continual participation by Hong Kong in the international community.

Only then would preservation of the present systems of Hong Kong and the way of life be complete.

Unless international recognition is forthcoming, any status given to Hong Kong would be mere form without substance. An independent Hong Kong currency without the prospect of convertibility into other currencies or a Hong Kong passport without the recognition accorded to it today would lose the *raison d'être* for having them.

Hong Kong is a participant in hundreds of treaties, conventions and international organisations through Britain.

These cover a vast spectrum of activities in the fields of commerce, finance, law, sciences and technology, transport, communications, extradition, personal liberties and many others.

These form part of Hong Kong's infrastructure which must be preserved.

## Reforms Before 1997

In your statement you said that, "during the years immediately ahead, the government of Hong Kong will be developed on increasingly representative lines."

The British Government has an obligation to ensure that it does not leave behind a political vacuum when it departs.

Many groups in Hong Kong have called for the elective and democratisation process to begin in Hong Kong and more specifically with the Legislative Council.

The reforms which have so far been introduced by the Hong Kong government only provide for a more representative consultative machinery. The government remains one by appointment.

A representative government must be directly accountable to the public and this can only be claimed by an elected one.

For the government to become representative, more fundamental changes are necessary. These include changes to the present constitutional documents of Hong Kong--The Letters Patents and the Royal Instructions, which can only be effected in Britain.

## British Responsibilities

For the British Government to meet its responsibilities to Hong Kong, it must:

Secure for Hong Kong an agreement that is acceptable to the people of Hong Kong.

Facilitate Hong Kong in its internal reforms for a smooth transition to take place from one government to another; and

Secure, with the assistance of the Chinese Government, recognition of Hong Kong's future status and the continual participation by Hong Kong in the international community.

CSO: 4000/346

YOUDE REMARKS ON FUTURE FAIL TO BOOST CONFIDENCE

HK090120 Hong Kong SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST in English 9 May 84 pp 1, 14

[Article by Halima Guterre and Matthew Leung: "Youde Fails to Allay Fears"]

[Text] The governor's pledge that there will be "no lame duck administration" in Hong Kong over the next 13 years has failed to boost confidence.

Political commentators and business leaders interpreted his statement as a bid to "talk-up" the economy at a time when the confidence crisis is deepening and the stock market continues to slide in the wake of Sir Geoffrey Howe's statement on Hong Kong's political future.

But the consensus was that Sir Edward Youde's pledge of an effective and solid administration in the run-up to 1997 would have little effect on a nervous Hong Kong.

One political analyst, Mr T. L. Tsim, said: "Although there is no question in my mind that the Hong Kong government takes its responsibility very seriously and the will is there to maintain an effective administration, the reality is that the situation might deteriorate so quickly it could become impossible for the government to govern.

"I am not saying that things will necessarily deteriorate but the possibility is there and it could happen very quickly.

"I would challenge anybody who makes predictions at this stage."

People's fears of communism cannot be measured and there will be a continuing stream of people who will emigrate and others who are in the process of emigrating, Mr Tsim said.

"But what about those who cannot get away? What are they going to do?

"At this stage I would not rule out anything," he said.

The seat of authority which has hitherto been vested in Lower Albert Road could very quickly shift northward to Peking, he said.



"And the possibility of things turning very bad very quickly is there," Mr Tsim said.

"What if you have a totally demoralised civil service or police force?

"What happens then?" he asked.

A business leader who asked not to be named because his reaction was unmitigatedly gloomy said: "The governor obviously has no alternative but to speak in a bullish way whatever his inner convictions may be.

"Nobody doubts that the government will do its absolute best to make the transition as smooth as possible but it is what the Chinese will do that we have to worry about," he said.

Sir Edward on Monday vowed that there will be "no lame duck administration" in Hong Kong in the run-up to 1997.

He was speaking at the opening of the New Territories Heung Yee Kuk [Rural Consultative Council] Taipo District Secondary School at Tai Yuen estate.

In a vote of confidence on Hong Kong's future, Sir Edward promised an effective administration in the next 13 years.

And he cited Hong Kong's long-term plans for education, for the development of the government on more representative lines and in many other fields as evidence of the determination to ensure the continuing sound administration of the territory.

The vice-chairman of the Hong Kong Belongers Association, Mr Sze Chusian, said the remarks will not boost the confidence of local people.

And he said it would be a sad thing if local Chinese, especially "rich bugs," emigrate, leaving in vacuum for overseas investors from Japan, the United States and Britain to fill.

And he believed Peking has prepared for the worst.

"If local businessmen depart, China will find someone else to take their places," Mr Sze noted.

He believed one main purpose of the director of China's Hong Kong and Macao Affairs Office, Mr Ji Pengfei, to visit Tokyo earlier this week was to woo Japanese businessmen to invest in Hong Kong.

Instead of casting doubts on the assurances Peking delivered to local people, Mr Sze said people should try to win over the confidence of Peking on Hong Kong instead.

"We should win over Peking's confidence that Hong Kong is economically viable to make money. What makes local people different from people in the mainland

is that we can make money. We must do our very best to keep this place prosperous and stable. What we should do is to continue to do our best to earn more money and foreign exchange for China and its four modernisation programmes."

The chairman of the Hong Kong Prospect Institute, Dr Lao Szekuang, said the governor's statement did not help much to ease the worries of the local people.

What the governor has said is simply reiterating Britain's stand.

Dr Lao said local people are very worried about the future social and economic system.

He has no doubt the government will do its best to make the transition as smooth as possible.

And those who have plans to leave the territory will go, no matter what Sir Edward said.

CSO: 4000/346

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

REPORTAGE ON COMMENT ON UMELCO STATEMENT

Left, Right Comment

HK110206 Hong Kong SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST in English 11 May 84 p 12

[Report by Terry Cheng: "Left Critical But Restrained"]

[Text] The initial reaction of leftwingers to the UMELCO [Unofficial Members of the Executive and Legislative Councils] statement was that it should be condemned, but their criticism was restrained.

While some pro-nationalists hailed the UMELCO move as a "manifestation of moral courage," a source close to Taiwan said their requests are "not sensible."

A leftwing source accused the unofficials of inciting Britain to interfere with China's internal affairs by urging the British Parliament to "withhold ratification" of the agreement on Hong Kong's future until the details of the basic laws are known.

The source said this would delay the signing of the final agreement.

"How can people link the agreement which is to be signed with Britain to the basic laws, which are the internal affairs of China.

"Basic laws which deal with situations after 1997 are unlikely to be finalised for some time. The request for the British Parliament to withhold ratification of the agreement until details of the basic laws are known will only delay the conclusion of the final agreement."

The source also attacked the unofficials' proposal for retaining some "residual British status" in Hong Kong beyond 1997.

"This is irrational and impractical," he said.

"Peking has made it very clear that it will not tolerate any formal British presence in Hong Kong after 1997 and the British foreign secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, has made it clear that it is unrealistic to think of an agreement that provides for continued British administration in Hong Kong after 1997."

On whether the UMELCO move will affect the Peking talks, the source said it all depends how the Hong Kong and British Governments act on the requests.

"If the two governments do not agree to the demands, the talks, which are progressing well, will not be affected."

He noted that the Hong Kong Government had dissociated itself from the UMELCO statement and that differences may exist between the government and UMELCO.

However, the source said it is not totally unreasonable to suspect that the Hong Kong and British Governments are behind the move.

Another leftwing source said the UMELCO move was "inappropriate" and "unrealistic."

The source claimed the unofficials are fighting for their own privileges after 1997.

"They are representing the most conservative sector in Hong Kong."

Despite saying the UMELCO statement should be condemned, leftwingers felt their criticism should be restrained.

It is understood they want to avoid the sort of commotion created by the "Lobo motion."

Leftwing sources said they do not care about the unofficials seeking help from Britain to arrange Hong Kong British passport holders to settle elsewhere.

"That is Britain's affair. And people have the right to choose where to settle," said one.

Miss Liu Yu-chu, a lawyer with close Chinese connections, said the unofficials cannot claim to represent the views and wishes of Hong Kong on the 1997 issue.

"They only represent a sector of the community," she said.

She said the unofficials have the right to present their views and she was not prepared to comment on their requests.

Miss Liu doubts if the UMELCO nine will be listened to by British MPs.

"They are too insignificant to have any affect on the Peking talks," she said.

A local delegate to the Chinese people's Political Consultative Conference, Mr K. S. Lo, said the UMELCO members are looking at public opinion through a "magic mirror"--implying that they are distorting the views and wishes of the people.

Rightwingers gave almost unanimous support to the UMELCO move.

Mr Leung Wing-sun, a local delegate to Taiwan's legislature and president of Chu Hai College, said the UMELCO statement "fully reflected" the wishes of the people of Hong Kong.

"It is a manifestation of moral courage and a continuation of the spirit of the Lobo motion."

He said the unofficials' concern for the erosion of powers during the transitional period is warranted.

And he pointed out that providing adequate and workable assurances the terms of the agreement will be honored is very important.

He said the unofficials should urge London to take a tougher stand in the Peking negotiations.

The secretary-general of the committee for I Love a Free Hong Kong Campaign, Mr Chan Koon-wah, shared similar views.

He said his committee had made representations to UMELCO on Monday on Hong Kong's future.

"Their proposals by and large include our views," he said.

In Mr Chan's opinion, the unofficials, although not elected, can represent the Hong Kong people on the 1997 issue.

He said his committee had distributed pamphlets and put up posters yesterday in support of the UMELCO move.

#### Rural Council Board Support

HK110210 Hong Kong SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST in English 11 May 84 p 11

[Excerpt] The Heung Yee Kuk [Rural Consultative Council], district board members and other UMELCO [Unofficial Members of the Executive and Legislative Councils] supporters yesterday applauded the nine-member delegation for daring to take a forceful line and for asking the right questions even though this might displease both Peking and London.

The chairman of the Kuk, Mr Lau Wong-fat, said the Kuk will telex unofficials in London to pledge their support for their statement.

Mr Lau said Sir Sze-yuen's statement was more or less in line with the Kuk's stand on the 1997 issue.

Although British stay after 1997 would be unrealistic, he said, Hong Kong people should be given a choice of whether to stay behind or to move elsewhere.

"And the British Government has an obligation to make possible the choices," he said.

Mr Lau found the four major points in the UMELCO statement were correct because Hong Kong people have the right to voice their views although these views might not be "along the party line" of either government.

Said a political analyst, Mr T. L. Tsim:

"Even if it is hopeless we have to put up a fight.

"What the British Government must realise is that if they conceded sovereignty and administration at the negotiation table, they must be prepared now to face the wrath of Hong Kong people."

He said the UMELCO views--including the call for Britain to insist on retaining "some residual status" after 1997--was completely identical to his own.

Mr Tsim said that even if some of the UMELCO suggestions appear to be unrealistic they must nevertheless still be posed.

It may be unrealistic to expect the British Government to provide right of settlement in the United Kingdom and other countries for Hong Kong belongers who cannot accept the idea of living under communist rule but the question must still be asked.

"To ask and be refused is one thing.

"Not to ask at all is quite another," he said.

The onus is now on Britain, if they are going to reject this proposal, to explain its reasons.

"What alternative do we have?

"Are we going to silently acquiesce and let people walk all over us again as we did when Britain introduced the Nationality Act and Hong Kong put up no serious resistance whatsoever?" he asked.

#### Youde Refuses Comment

HK110125 Hong Kong SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST in English 11 May 84 p 1

[Report by Matthew Leung: "Youde: MPS Aware of Concerns"]

[Text] The Governor, Sir Edward Youde, said last night he is confident the British Government will show itself to be fully alive to the concerns of the people in Hong Kong during the debate in Parliament next week on the future of the territory.

Speaking to reporters at Kai Tak on his return from Peking after another round of 1997 talks, Sir Edward said that although he will not be present at the debate, he is expecting to receive an early copy of Hansard, the official record of parliamentary business.

He refused to comment on the statement issued by nine members of UMELCO [Un-official Members of the Executive and Legislative Councils] before they left for London on Wednesday to lobby British MPs.

"I have emphasized that it was a UMELCO statement, and it is, of course, for UMELCO members rather than for me to comment on it.

"As I read it, it was intended to voice anxieties which have been expressed to them in Hong Kong, but was in no way intended to cast any doubt on the need for an agreement between the British and Chinese Governments on the future of Hong Kong," Sir Edward said.

The governor said there was nothing surprising in the fact that he had come back to Hong Kong a little early this time.

"It is simply that I have to go off to London on Saturday morning. The flight tomorrow doesn't arrive until the afternoon, and that wouldn't have given me the working day I need to prepare for my departure for London," he said.

Sir Edward will be away for about 2 weeks.

He will be calling on the foreign and commonwealth office while in London.

But he will not be spending all his time there, as he is planning to take a short break from official business.

He said he will return in time for the 15th round of Sino-British talks.

It was the first time that Sir Edward has returned to Hong Kong on the same day as the completion of a round of talks in Peking.

#### Students' Federation Queries Statement

HK110208 Hong Kong SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST in English 11 May 84 p 13

[Text] The Hong Kong Federation of Students yesterday petitioned UMELCO [Un-official Members of the Executive and Legislative Councils] to query the statement issued by unofficials on Wednesday.

Representatives felt the basic law should not be included in the final agreement because the law could not be rewritten in such a short period.

They said they were disappointed that the statement did not make any declaration on democracy and civic participation in a future political system.

If UMELCO maintained that it represented local people's views, it should consult the public before it issued the statement or it is only the view of the unofficials, they said.

As for a British obligation to provide alternatives to move elsewhere for Hong Kong British passport holders, they countered that it is a passive move and would not help Hong Kong's prosperity.

They said Hong Kong's prosperity was based on its democratic system and positive participation by the public in social services and prosperity could only be maintained if most of the people stayed after 1997.

During a meeting with students, UMELCO members Mr Andrew So and Mrs Rita Fan, who received the group, explained there was no intention in the position paper to encourage migration to Britain.

"On the contrary if Hong Kong people have an option to settle in Britain, they can completely put aside any residual worries they may have on the future.

"They will continue to stay in Hong Kong in exercise of a free choice and not because they have nowhere to go," Mrs Fan said.

"Most Hong Kong people do not want to leave Hong Kong.

"In fact, many Hong Kong people who have acquired residence status in other countries have come back to live and work in Hong Kong," she added.

Mr So said public comments on the position paper were welcomed and this is regarded as a continuing process of consultation.

CSO: 4000/346



## HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

### EDUCATION FEDERATION PLANS FOR CONSTITUTION

HK031242 Hong Kong Asia Television Limited in English 1200 GMT 3 May 84

[Text] A left-wing organization has, in a rare move, come up with detailed proposals for a miniconstitution for Hong Kong as a special administrative region under China after 1997. Karina Leung reports.

[Begin recording] The Hong Kong Federation of Education Workers today announced a 33-point plan for a constitution for Hong Kong after 1997. The proposals deal with the future political, economic and educational systems, and the rights and freedoms of Hong Kong people. The federation, which has close ties with China, proposes that a Chinese commission be set up in Hong Kong after 1997, and similarly, Hong Kong liaison offices be established in major Chinese cities. The purpose, the group says, is to facilitate the handling of matters of mutual concern.

The group, however, says that Hong Kong should have a high degree of autonomy, with its own administrative, economic and legal systems. Apart from defense and foreign affairs which will be handled by China, the group thinks that all internal matters should be in the hands of the local government. To maintain confidence in Hong Kong, the federation says China should let Hong Kong people be involved in the drafting of the constitution through consultation with a specially set up committee comprising a wide cross section of people. It adds that after the constitution is approved by the Chinese National People's Congress, any future amendments would first have to be passed by the Legislative Council in Hong Kong. [End recording]

CSO: 4000/346

DIRECT ELECTION OF GOVERNING BODIES 'RULED OUT'

HK110216 Hong Kong SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST in English 11 May 84 pp 1, 12

[Article by Michael Chugani: "DBS [District Boards] To Vote for Legco, But... Popular Elections 'Ruled Out'"]

[Text] Although radical changes in the governing of Hong Kong are on the way, direct election to the two most powerful bodies appears to have been ruled out.

Instead of the public at large directly electing members of the Executive and Legislative Councils, the job of choosing Hong Kong's future legislators and policy-makers will be left to district board and regional council members.

It is thought the government will in future ask this large group of people to elect from within their ranks Hong Kong's future Legco [Legislative Council] members.

And as the new system evolves. Legco members--who by then would themselves have been elected by district board and regional council members--will in turn select from within their ranks Hong Kong's future Executive Councillors.

Although the government has already announced publicly that it intends to increase the level of public participation in the running of Hong Kong, officials have so far kept the actual details under wraps.

The full proposals will be unveiled in the summer for public debate.

But it is thought unlikely that the present system will be dismantled to be replaced by a new one.

Rather, senior government officials would want to maintain the present system as far as possible and yet insert liberal changes which will bring about increased public representation.

One way of achieving this, which seems to have found favor, would be to first increase the number of elected members on both the district boards and the two future regional councils which will replace the current Urban Council.

The next step would be to have this large grassroots group of elected members select from among themselves a certain number of colleagues who would be elevated to Legco. In the years ahead the system would be democratised even more and Legislative Councillors would then elect members of Exco [Executive Council] Hong Kong's equivalent of a cabinet.

Such a system, while sidestepping actual direct elections, would at least make it possible for the two most important councils to have members who were actually elected by the people, although to a different body.

Several district board and Urban Council members now already serve in both Exco and Legco, and the government has said more will be appointed when seats fall vacant later this year.

But the current method still means the power to pick and choose lies entirely with the government even though those chosen are elected members of district boards and regional councils.

Under this appointment system the government is vulnerable to accusations of appointing only the "yes men" from within the ranks of elected members to serve on Exco and Legco.

The advantage of the new system is that the government will play no part in selecting a large segment of Exco and Legco, although the appointment system is likely to be preserved to a certain degree.

This will ensure that professional people like bankers and lawyers who may not wish to stand for elections to the district boards and regional councils will still be able to offer their expertise by being appointed to serve on Exco and Legco.

The exact timetable for the changes has not been revealed but officials have said progress will be cautiously slow and the overall plan will take years.

And since the regional council for the New Territories will be set up in 1986, it is unlikely major changes will come before then.

CSO: 4000/346

SURVEY SHOWS LACK OF CONFIDENCE IN PRC PLEDGE

HK080208 Hong Kong SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST in English 8 May 84 p 12

[Article by Walter Cheung and Ophelia Suen: "Gloomy Survey Results Spark Call for Confidence"]

[Text] Hong Kong should be united in trying to boost confidence in the territory, a legislative unofficial councillor, Mr Allen Lee, said yesterday.

Mr Lee particularly stressed the importance of district board members' efforts in taking up this role.

He made the suggestion after hearing the gloomy results of the Wanchai District Board survey--more than 60 percent of those questioned said they had no confidence in China's pledge that Hong Kong's system would remain untouched for 50 years.

And 59 percent of the respondents said they would consider emigration if they had the chance. More than half of those were aged under 40.

In Happy Valley, the home of many professional people, 75 percent said they would consider leaving the territory for good.

Of the meagre 26 percent who said they had confidence in China's word about the future, more than 82 percent attributed their faith to China's eagerness to maintain Hong Kong's stability.

Of the 63 percent who said they did not have confidence in Peking, most said successive administrations, as in the past, could lead to big differences in policy towards Hong Kong.

The survey was launched after the British foreign secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, said Britain would be pulling out after 1997.

More than 60 percent said London had the responsibility of helping British Chinese in Hong Kong to emigrate to an overseas country, not necessarily the UK.

Fifty-five percent said they hoped the British Government would help them emigrate to an overseas country.

The questionnaires were sent out on 30 April--10 days after Sir Geoffrey's press conference--to a random 10 percent of voters in the district.

Of the 4,600 questionnaires sent out, only 1,116, or about 24 percent, were returned.

But the district board members described the rate as high when compared with commercial survey returns.

In their meeting with the unofficials, a district board member, Dr Albert Chueng, said Hong Kong needed professionals for its prosperity.

"The British and Chinese Governments need to do something to boost Hong Kong people's confidence in the territory," he said.

Dr Chueng also suggested that UMELCO [Unofficial Members of the Executive and Legislative Councils] be a co-ordinator of surveys on public opinions on 1997.

Meanwhile, 76 percent of those interviewed in a recent opinion poll in eastern district said Britain should stand by its "moral obligation" to the Hong Kong people.

But 41 percent of the group--about 8,800 residents in the district--said they deemed it "highly possible" that both negotiating parties in the Sino-British talks would neglect taking care of the Hong Kong people in looking after their own interests.

Sixty-seven percent of the group thought the wishes and interests of the Hong Kong people should be the key factor in deciding Hong Kong's future.

Should such wishes be violated, 61 percent maintained that civil rights of the people of Hong Kong should still be respected.

While 45 percent favoured the formula of Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong, 22 percent said they would emigrate if they could when China regains sovereignty.

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GOVERNMENT TO COLLECT RESIDENTS' VIEWS ON 1997

HK100232 Hong Kong SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST in English 10 May 84 pp 1, 14

[Article by Matthew Leung: "Public Will Be Polled"]

[Text] Residents' views on the 1997 issue will be collected by the government territory-wide before China and Britain sign an agreement on the future of Hong Kong.

The views gathered will be passed on to the British Government and members of parliament for assessment.

And the government is expected to publicly announce a "Green Paper" outlining proposals towards a more representative government next month or in July at the latest.

Local administrators have attached great importance to the paper.

The government has found it necessary to get local views off the ground because it would enable British authorities to grasp fully what the local people want for the future.

Besides, the views collected could serve as a way to convince the British Government that they are doing the right thing for the people of Hong Kong.

It was learned that many options are already in the hands of the administrators.

But it is no easy task to pick out the most effective one to serve the purpose.

The majority of the local population are still quiet on the 1997 subject.

And the present piecemeal approach by individual district boards to canvass residents' views is far from sufficient.

It is understood that the government will make a statement on the "Green Paper" containing a set of proposals towards a more representative government to the Legislative Council [Legco] next month or in July.

And officials hope the general public will welcome it.

But the government has warned that too drastic a proposal would turn the system upside down. Its logic is: "We have to do it step by step."

The spotlight of the paper would be focused on boosting the representative status of the Legislative and Executive Councils in the years to come.

A "White Paper" would be announced in due course, depending how long the public discussion lasts.

It would be, however, too hasty to carry out the reforms in the councils this year.

And it would be too luxurious to think of direct elections to the councils this year.

And it would be too luxurious to think of direct elections to the councils for the time being.

But it is expected that more elected district board members will be appointed to Legco in September when the terms of 11 members are due to expire.

The chief secretary, Sir Philip Haddon-Cave, told Legco last week that consideration is already being given "to formulating proposals whereby the representative status of our two main central government institutions, the Executive Council and the Legislative Council, might be developed during the coming years."

The proposals will be aimed at establishing arrangements which are "progressively, properly timed and take account of the particular circumstances of Hong Kong."

It was also learned that a package of proposals for the further development of the local administration at the district board and regional level will pass through Executive and Legislative Councils next week.

The most significant of these proposals, announced in February, is that the representative status of the district boards should be strengthened in March next year by increasing the number and hence the relative importance of elected members.

Also important were proposals for another regional-level council, which would include elected as well as appointed members, to be established in 1986 to cover those areas not presently under the aegis of the Urban Council.

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PRC OFFICIAL SAYS SEPTEMBER DEADLINE REMAINS

HK091258 Hong Kong Television Broadcasts Limited in English 1100 GMT 9 May 84

[Text] The September deadline for an agreement on 1997 remains. That's according to a senior Chinese official. And, he says, the Chinese are hoping that an agreement will be reached by then. Nick Griffin learned that at a press briefing as another round of talks got underway in Beijing.

[Begin recording] Qi Huaiyuan, the head of the Information on Department of the Foreign Ministry, told newsmen at a weekly briefing here in Beijing that China's principles over Hong Kong have not changed, a direct reference to the September deadline, at which time China is expected to announce details of its plans for Hong Kong. The same answer he gave to numerous questions from reporters who asked whether there was anything in the hints dropped recently by some leaders that the deadline may be relaxed. Asked whether he thought it was on the cards for Britain and China to reach an agreement by September, Qi would not be drawn. In the end, his answer was, it is possible, a line he used to reply to a number of questions. Only yesterday, a senior official replied to a similar question that everybody would know when an agreement was about to be signed. Qi himself said China itself hopes for an agreement by September, but he said it was not clear whether it would be a full agreement or just a draft one.

Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian is due to visit London later this year for talks with his counterpart Sir Geoffrey Howe. It is in fact a follow-up visit to Foreign Secretary Howe's recent trip to China. Mr Qi would only say at this afternoon's briefing that Wu's itinerary has yet to be fixed.

Meanwhile, Qi did announce the itinerary for Premier Zhao Ziyang's six-country European tour in mid-June. He is to visit France, Belgium, Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Italy. While in Belgium, he will meet with top EEC officials.  
[End recording]

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## HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

### BRIEFS

YOUDE REMARKS 'POSITIVE'--Assurances that Hong Kong will continue to have an effective government up to 1997 were welcomed by China's top man in the territory. The head of the NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY's Hong Kong branch, Xu Jiatun, was referring to remarks by the governor, Sir Edward Youde. The governor promised that the territory would not have a lame duck administration. That remark was described by Mr Xu as positive, and, he said, it should have a beneficial effect on local confidence. [Text] [HK081300 Hong Kong Television Broadcasts Limited in English 1100 GMT 8 May 84]

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END